Your remarks were full of virtue and consolation, perfect in explanation, and furnished a rule to live by and to die by.

We feel fully persuaded that the day cannot be far distant when you will be acknowledged — by the very lips of those who now denounce, revile, and persecute you as the vilest and basest of men, the uprooter of all order, the destroyer of our country's peace, prosperity, and happiness — to be its firm reliance, its deliverer, the very pillar of its future grandeur.

TESTIMONIES OF THE PEOPLE OF COLOR

He cried to every passing Hour to stay,
Lend him strong hands and break the Tyrant's rods:
The heedless Hours went by, but far away
The slumbering Years woke like avenging gods.

WENDELL PHILLIPS STAFFORD

M180485

In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,
Toiled o'er his types one poor, unlearned young man;
The place was dark, unfurnitured and mean,
Yet there the freedom of a race began.

Help came but slowly; surely, no man yet
Put lever to the heavy world with less;
What need of help? — He knew how types were set,
He had a dauntless spirit and a press.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

Wherever wrong shall right deny,
Or suffering spirits urge their plea,
Be thine a voice to smite the lie,
A hand to set the captives free!

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

TO ALL WHO HATE CRUELTY

OPPRESSION AND WAR

AND BELIEVE IN THE EQUAL RIGHTS

AND PERFECTIBILITY OF MANKIND

PREFACE

The following compilation is derived mainly from the four-volume Life of William Lloyd Garrison written by his children (The Century Co., New York, 1885, 1889), and now bearing the imprint of Houghton, Mifflin and Company. The bracketed numerical references are to this work, except in a few instances where the letter W indicates the volume of Garrison's "Writings" published in Boston in 1852, and the letter S the volume of "Sonnets and Other Poems" published in Boston in 1843.

The selection has not been designed to set forth the "beauties" of a writer who had little leisure or motive for rhetorical polish, and was always more concerned with contents than with style; or of a speaker who, as he used to say, never aimed to "bring the house down, but to bring it up." Nor has it had wholly in view

a truthful, because original and authoritative, expression of the character of a much maligned reformer. The "Words" have seemed to the compilers still vital with spiritual insight, strength, catholicity, consolation, and cheer, and worthy to wing their flight anew, albeit a quarter-century after

the voice was stilled that taught
Humility to tyrants, upright brought
The prostrate.

W. P. G.
F. J. G.

June, 1905.

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*** The frontispiece portrait is a photogravure from a photograph taken by George K. Warren in 1876.

THE WORDS OF GARRISON

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL

My country is the world; my countrymen are all mankind. (i, 369.)

* * *

I thank God that I was born in the United States — that my field of labor lies in the United States. (ii, 407.)

* * *

I know that the cause of my enslaved countrymen cannot possibly be injured by my advocacy of the rights of all men, or by my opposition to all tyranny. (iii, 173.)

* * *

Generally, where I stand up to speak, I am "native and to the manner born," but here [in England] I am a foreigner, standing on foreign soil; and I ask myself, "What right have I to be here, an intermeddler, an agitator, if you will?" . . . But I have in my own mind long come to this conclusion, that "the earth is the Lord's"; and wherever on

His footstool I may be placed, if iniquity is to be arraigned and immorality is to be confronted, I claim my right before God to denounce it. (iv, 276.)

* * *

As to our moral obligation, it belongs to our nature, and is a part of our accountability, of which neither time nor distance, neither climate nor location, neither republican nor monarchical government, can divest us. Let there be but one slave on the face of the globe — let him stand on one extremity of the globe, and place me on the other — let every people, and tribe, and clime, and nation stand as barriers between him and myself: still, I am bound to sympathize with him — to pray, and toil, and plead for his deliverance — to make known his wrongs, and vindicate his rights. (i, 508.)

* * *

I have been derisively called a "*Woman's Rights Man.*" I know no such distinction. I claim to be a HUMAN RIGHTS MAN; and wherever there is a human being, I see God-given rights inherent in that being, whatever may be the sex or complexion. (iii, 390.)

* * *

I go for the people — the whole people — whatever be their bodily dimensions, temporal conditions, or shades of color. (i, 201.)

* * *

Is it republicanism to say that the majority can do no wrong? Then I am not a republican. Is it aristocracy to say that the people sometimes shamefully abuse their high trust? Then I am an aristocrat. (i, 128.)

* * *

With reasonable men, I will reason; with humane men, I will plead; but to tyrants I will give no quarter, nor waste arguments where they will certainly be lost. (i, 188.)

* * *

What is the proposition to be discussed? It is this: whether all men are created free and equal, and have an inalienable right to liberty! I am urged to argue this with a people who declare it to be a self-evident truth! Why, such folly belongs to Bedlam. (W, 127.)

* * *

I never debate the question as to whether man may hold property in man. I never degrade myself by debating the question, "Is slavery a sin?" It is a self-evident truth, which God hath engraven on our very nature. Where

I see the holder of a slave, I charge the sin upon him, and I denounce him. (iii, 162.)

* * *

I am in earnest — I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch — AND I WILL BE HEARD. (i, 225.)

* * *

I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. (i, 225.)

* * *

I shall use *great plainness of speech* — believing that *truth can never conduce to mischief, and is best discovered by plain words.* (i, 200.)

* * *

My manner of expressing my thoughts and feelings is somewhat novel, and not always palatable, in this country [England], on account of its plainness and directness; but it will do more good, in the end, than a smoother mode. At least, I think so, and will "bide my time." I am led to be more plain-spoken because almost every one here deals in circumlocution, and to offend nobody seems to be the aim of the speaker. *If I chose*, I could be as smooth and politic as any one; but I do not so choose, and much prefer nature to art. (iii, 167.)

* * *

THE WORDS OF GARRISON

A CENTENNIAL SELECTION (1805–1905) OF CHARACTERISTIC SENTIMENTS FROM THE WRITINGS OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
LIST OF PORTRAITS, BIBLIOGRAPHY
AND CHRONOLOGY

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
1905

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AND FRANCIS JACKSON GARRISON

Published October 1905

I am accused of using hard language. I admit the charge. I have not been able to find a soft word to describe villainy, or to identify the perpetrator of it. (W, 121.)

* * *

It is my lot to be branded throughout this country as an agitator, a fanatic, an incendiary, and a madman. There is one epithet, I fervently desire to thank God, that has never been applied to me: I have never been stigmatized as a *slaveholder*, or as an *apologist of slavery*. (i, 511.)

* * *

Are we enough to make a revolution? No, but we are enough to *begin* one, and, once begun, it never can be turned back. I am for revolution, were I utterly alone. I am there because I *must* be there. I *must* cleave to the right. I cannot choose but obey the voice of God. (iii, 171.)

* * *

Phrenologically speaking, my caution is large, and my combativeness not very active; and as I pay no regard whatever to the question of numbers, but everything to the question of right, I am not very forward in the work of proselytism. (iii, 171.)

With no pride of heart, however, but with much confidence of right action, with much virtuous accusation, and with real gratitude to God, I survey the past, and challenge mankind to produce an instance in which the cause of moral reform, surrounded by equal difficulties and dangers, has advanced more rapidly than the present. In seizing "the trump of God," I had indeed to blow "a jarring blast" — but it was necessary to wake up a nation then slumbering in the lap of moral death. Thanks be to God, that blast was effectual: it pierced the ears of the deaf, it startled the lethargic from their criminal sleep, and it shook the land as a leaf is shaken by the wind. . . . Greater success than I have had, no man could reasonably desire, or humbly expect. Greater success no man could obtain, peradventure, without endangering his reliance upon an almighty arm. (i, 458, 459.)

* * *

Prisoner! within these gloomy walls close pent —
Guiltless of horrid crime or venial wrong —
Bear nobly up against thy punishment,
And in thy innocence be great and strong!

. . . . . .

Though beat — imprisoned — put to open shame —
Time shall embalm and magnify thy name.
(i, 182.)

* * *

FREEDOM OF THE MIND

High walls and huge the BODY may confine,
And iron grates obstruct the prisoner's gaze,
And massive bolts may baffle his design,
And vigilant keepers watch his devious ways:
Yet scorns th' immortal MIND this base control!
No chains can bind it, and no cell enclose:
Swifter than light, it flies from pole to pole,
And, in a flash, from earth to heaven it goes!
It leaps from mount to mount — from vale to vale
It wanders, plucking honeyed fruits and flowers;
It visits home, to hear the fireside tale,
Or in sweet converse pass the joyous hours:
'T is up before the sun, roaming afar,
And, in its watches, wearies every star!
(i, 179.)

* * *

Confine me as a prisoner — but bind me not as a slave.
Punish me as a criminal — but hold me not as a chattel.
Torture me as a man — but drive me not like a beast.
Doubt my sanity, but acknowledge my immortality.
(ii, 28.)

Ye angels, and the spirits of the just!
Crown'd as ye are, and thron'd in royal state!
In full seraphic strains congratulate
Upon his waning years a child of dust,
Who, as he fades, doth firmer find his trust
In GOD — and holds the world at a mean rate,
But upon heaven puts a high estimate!
This fills his soul with joy — *that*, with disgust.
The thirtieth round of my brief pilgrimage
To-day is ended — 't is perchance the last
I shall complete upon this earthly stage;
For toils increase, and perils thicken fast,
And mighty is the warfare that I wage: —
But 't is my foes, not I, that stand aghast!

(ii, 72.)

* * *

If to the age of threescore years and ten,
God of my life! thou shalt my term prolong,
Still be it mine to reprobate all wrong,
And save from woe my suffering fellow-men.

(ii, 433.)

* * *

Remember, when thou com'st to riper years,
That unto GOD, from earliest infancy,
Thy grateful father dedicated thee,
And sought HIS guidance through the vale of tears.
Fear GOD — then disregard all other fears.
. . . . . .
Bear witness, Heaven! do I hate Slavery less, —
Do I not hate it more, intensely more, —

Now this dear babe I to my bosom press?
My soul is stirred within me — ne'er before
Have horrors filled it with such dire excess,
Nor pangs so deep pierced to its inmost core.
(ii, 100, 101.)

* * *

Our trust for victory is solely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never! (i, 412.)

* * *

My reliance for the deliverance of the oppressed universally is upon the nature of man, the inherent wrongfulness of oppression, the power of truth, and the omnipotence of God — using every rightful instrumentality to hasten the jubilee. (iii, 401.)

* * *

Rather than see men wearing their chains in a cowardly and servile spirit, I would, as an advocate of peace, much rather see them breaking the head of the tyrant with their chains. Give me, as a non-resistant, Bunker Hill, and Lexington, and Concord, rather than the cowardice and servility of a Southern slave-plantation. (iii, 492.)

* * *

Whenever there is a contest between the oppressed and the oppressor, — the weapons

being equal between the parties, — God knows that my heart must be with the oppressed, and always against the oppressor. Therefore, whenever commenced, I cannot but wish success to all slave insurrections. (iii, 492.)

* * *

A word upon the subject of Peace. I am a non-resistant — a believer in the inviolability of human life, under all circumstances; I, therefore, in the name of God, disarm John Brown, and every slave at the South. But I do not stop there; if I did, I should be a monster. I also disarm, in the name of God, every slaveholder and tyrant in the world. For wherever that principle is adopted, all fetters must instantly melt, and there can be no oppressed and no oppressor in the nature of things. (iii, 491.)

* * *

I believe in the spirit of peace, and in sole and absolute reliance on truth and the application of it to the hearts and consciences of the people. I do not believe that the weapons of liberty ever have been, or ever can be, the weapons of despotism. (iii, 473.)

* * *

I hate slavery as I hate nothing else in this world. It is not only a crime, but the sum of all criminality; not only a sin, but the sin of sins against Almighty God. I cannot be at peace with it at any time, to any extent, under any circumstances. That I have been permitted to witness its overthrow calls for expressions of devout thanksgiving to Heaven. (iv, 147.)

* * *

I have never allowed a single number of [the *Liberator*] to go forth to the world without feeling that it would do something to redeem that world from sin and error. (iii, 268.)

* * *

In short, I did what I could for the redemption of the human race. (ii, 410.)

* * *

When one stands alone with God for truth, for liberty, for righteousness, he may glory in his isolation; but when the principle which kept him isolated has at last conquered, then to glory in isolation seems to me no evidence of courage or fidelity. (iv, 160.)

* * *

To-day, it is popular to be President of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Hence, my

connection with it terminates here and now, both as a member and as its presiding officer. (iv, 161.)

* * *

As for myself, I deem it, with the apostle, a small thing to be judged of man's judgment. I solicit no man's praise — I fear no man's censure. (i, 462.)

* * *

I ask, deserve, and expect the praise of no individuals for my labors; because I am merely endeavoring to perform my duty. (i, 187.)

* * *

The truth is, he who commences any reform which at last becomes one of transcendent importance and is crowned with victory, is always ill judged and unfairly estimated. At the outset he is looked upon with contempt, and treated in the most opprobrious manner, as a wild fanatic or a dangerous disorganizer. In due time the cause grows and advances to its sure triumph; and in proportion as it nears the goal, the popular estimate of his character changes, till finally excessive panegyric is substituted for outrageous abuse. The praise on the one hand, and the defamation on the other, are equally unmerited. In the clear light of

Reason, it will be seen that he simply stood up to discharge a duty which he owed to his God, to his fellow-men, to the land of his nativity. (iii, 314.)

* * *

So far as I am personally concerned, I feel no interest in any history of it [the anti-slavery struggle] that may be written. It is enough for me that every yoke is broken and every bondman set free. Yet there are lessons to be drawn from it that cannot fail to be serviceable to posterity. The millennial state, if it ever come on earth, is yet in the far distant future. There are innumerable battles yet to be fought for the right, many wrongs to be redressed, many evil customs abolished, many usurpations overthrown, many deliverances wrought; and those who shall hereafter go forth to defend the righteous cause, no matter at what cost or with what disparity of numbers, cannot fail to derive strength and inspiration from an intelligent acquaintance with the means and methods used in the anti-slavery movement. (iv, 258.)

* * *

The one distinct and emphatic lesson which I shall teach my children is, to take nothing

upon mere authority — to dare to differ in opinion from their father, and from all the world — to understand, as clearly as possible, what can be said against or in favor of any doctrine or practice, and then to accept or reject it according to their own convictions of duty. (iii, 269.)

* * *

Reason has prevailed with me more than popular opinion. (i, 121.)

* * *

We are bound by no denominational trammels; we are not political partisans; we have taken upon our lips no human creed; we are guided by no human authority; we cannot consent to wear the livery of any fallible body. (ii, 200.)

* * *

We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government; neither can we oppose any such government by a resort to physical force. We recognize but one KING and LAWGIVER, one JUDGE and RULER of mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world; the subjects of which are forbidden to fight; in which MERCY and TRUTH are met together, and RIGHTEOUSNESS and PEACE have kissed each other; which

has no state lines, no national partitions, no geographical boundaries; in which there is no distinction of rank, or division of caste, or inequality of sex; the officers of which are PEACE, its exactors RIGHTEOUSNESS, its walls SALVATION, and its gates PRAISE; and which is destined to break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms. (ii, 230.)

* * *

My trust is in God, my aim to walk in the footsteps of his Son, my rejoicing to be crucified to the world, and the world to me. (ii, 431.)

* * *

The TRUTH that we utter is impalpable, yet real; it cannot be thrust down by brute force, nor pierced with a dagger, nor bribed with gold, nor overcome by the application of a coat of tar and feathers. (W, 389.)

* * *

If by the shedding of *our* blood the lives of our enemies may be saved, let it be shed. (i, 518.)

* * *

For myself, I ask no physical violence to be exerted for my protection, and I acknowledge no other government than that of the Most High. (ii, 30.)

The desire of putting my enemies into a prison, or inflicting any kind of chastisement upon them, except of a moral kind, is utterly eradicated from my breast. (ii, 225.)

* * *

My memory can no more retain the impression of anger, hatred, or revenge than the ocean the track of its monsters. (i, 187.)

* * *

It appears to us a self-evident truth, that, whatever the gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, being contrary to it, ought *now* to be abandoned. (ii, 233.)

SLAVERY

No Union with Slaveholders! (iii, 100.)

* * *

The compact which exists between the North and the South is "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell" — involving both parties in atrocious criminality — and should be immediately annulled. (iii, 88.)

* * *

Freedom and Slavery are natural and irreconcilable enemies; it is morally impossible for them to exist together in the same nation; and the existence of the one can only be secured by the destruction of the other.

Slavery has exercised a pernicious and most dangerous influence in the affairs of this Union, from its foundation to the present time [1840]; this influence has increased, is increasing, and cannot be destroyed, except by the destruction of slavery or the Union. (ii, 338.)

* * *

In the beginning, what a gross absurdity did our fathers exhibit! — trying to do what is not in the power of God — to reconcile the

irreconcilable — to make Slavery and Freedom mingle and cohere! It can never be. Look at the lover of freedom and the advocate of slavery, the slaveholder and the abolitionist, at this day. Do they acknowledge the same God? Do they worship at the same shrine? A government composed of both is impossible; and he who would pass for a lover of freedom, should have found it out. (iii, 141.)

* * *

The truth is, our fathers were intent on securing liberty *to themselves*, without being very scrupulous as to the means they used to accomplish their purpose. They were not actuated by the spirit of universal philanthropy; and though *in words* they recognized occasionally the brotherhood of the human race, *in practice* they continually denied it. They did not blush to enslave a portion of their fellow-men, and to buy and sell them as cattle in the market, while they were fighting against the oppression of the mother country, and boasting of their regard for the rights of man. (iii, 109.)

* * *

Suppose that — by a miracle — the slaves should suddenly become white. Would you

shut your eyes upon their sufferings, and calmly talk of Constitutional limitations? (i, 133.)

* * *

In the present struggle, the test of character is as infallible as it is simple. He that is with the slaveholder is against the slave; he that is with the slave is against the slaveholder. (W, 141.)

* * *

Is it not to be sorely pressed, yea, to yield the whole ground, to represent any class of our fellow-creatures as being on the same level with wild beasts? To such a desperate shift does the slaveholder resort, to screen himself from condemnation. The negroes, he avers, are an inferior race, — a connecting link between men and monkeys, — and therefore it is folly to talk of giving them liberty and equal rights. (iii, 436.)

* * *

Is there one law of submission and non-resistance for the black man, and another law of rebellion and conflict for the white man? When it is the whites who are trodden in the dust, does Christ justify them in taking up arms to vindicate their rights? And when it

is the blacks who are thus treated, does Christ require them to be patient, harmless, long-suffering, and forgiving? And are there two Christs? (iii, 362.)

* * *

God never made a tyrant, nor a slave.

(ii, 432.)

* * *

Has not the experience of two centuries shown that gradualism in theory is perpetuity in practice? Is there an instance, in the history of the world, where slaves have been educated for freedom by their taskmasters? (ii, 257.)

* * *

I believe that nothing but the exterminating judgments of heaven can shatter the chain of the slave and destroy the power of his oppressor. The wildest animals may be tamed, in the course of time; but tyrants, as all history shows, must be destroyed. (ii, 184.)

* * *

We would rather, if this must be the alternative, that the most exorbitant pecuniary exactions of the slave tyrants should be complied with than that their victims should never be set free. (iii, 210.)

I am as much interested in the safety and welfare of the slaveholders, as brother-men, as I am in the liberation of their poor slaves. (iv, 42.)

* * *

I pray you to remember that the slaveholders are just as merciful and forbearing as they can be in their situation, — not a whit more brutal, bloody, satanic than they are obliged to be in the terrible exigencies in which, as slaveholders, they are placed. They are men of like passions with ourselves; they are of our common country; and if we had been brought up in the midst of slavery, as they have been, — if we had our property in slaves, as they have, — if we had had the same training and education that they have received, of course, we should have been just as much disposed to do all in our power to support slavery, and to put down freedom, by the same atrocious acts, as themselves. The tree bears its natural fruit, — like causes will produce like effects. But let us return them good for evil, by seizing this opportunity to deliver them from their deadliest curse, — that is Christian. (iv, 32.)

* * *

Genuine abolitionism is not a hobby, got up for personal or associated aggrandizement; it is not a political ruse; it is not a spasm of sympathy, which lasts but for a moment, leaving the system weak and worn; it is not a fever of enthusiasm; it is not the fruit of fanaticism; it is not a spirit of faction. It is of heaven, not of men. It lives in the heart as a vital principle. It is an essential part of Christianity, and aside from it there can be no humanity. Its scope is not confined to the slave population of the United States, but embraces mankind. Opposition cannot weary it out, force cannot put it down, fire cannot consume it. It is the spirit of Jesus, who was sent "to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God." Its principles are self-evident, its measures rational, its purposes merciful and just. It cannot be diverted from the path of duty, though all earth and hell oppose; for it is lifted far above all earth-born fear. When it fairly takes possession of the soul, you may trust the soul-carrier anywhere, that he will not be recreant to humanity. In short, it is a life,

not an impulse — a quenchless flame of philanthropy, not a transient spark of sentimentalism. (*Liberator*, ix, 114.)

* * *

I pray you, abolitionists, . . . do not get impatient; do not become exasperated; do not attempt any new political organization; do not make yourselves familiar with the idea that blood must flow. Perhaps blood will flow — God knows, I do not; but it shall not flow through any counsel of mine. Much as I detest the oppression exercised by the Southern slaveholder, he is a man, sacred before me. He is a man, not to be harmed by my hand nor with my consent. He is a man, who is grievously and wickedly trampling upon the rights of his fellow-man; but all I have to do with him is to rebuke his sin, to call him to repentance, to leave him without excuse for his tyranny. He is a sinner before God — a great sinner; yet, while I will not cease reprobating his horrible injustice, I will let him see that in my heart there is no desire to do him harm, — that I wish to bless him here, and bless him everlastingly, — and that I have no other weapon to wield against him but the simple truth of God, which is the great instrument

for the overthrow of all iniquity and the salvation of the world. (iii, 473.)

* * *

The success of any great moral enterprise does not depend upon numbers. Slavery will be overthrown before a majority of all the people shall have called voluntarily, and on the score of principle, for its abolition. (i, 511.)

* * *

The hour is coming when men of all sects and of all parties at the North will rally under one banner — THE BANNER OF LIBERTY; and a similar coalition will be seen at the South rallying under THE BLACK FLAG OF SLAVERY. It will not be a strife of blood, but a conflict of opinions, and it will be short and decisive. Possibly, in that hour, the South may yield (and such a surrender would be to her victory and renown), — possibly, the spirit of desperation may triumph over her instinct of self-preservation ; but, in either case, the fate of slavery would be sealed, the character of the North redeemed, and an example given to mankind worthy to be recorded on the brightest page of history. (iii, 87, 88.)

* * *

When I said I would not sustain the Constitution because it was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," *I had no idea that I should live to see death and hell secede.* (iv, 40.)

* * *

One million of degraded slaves are more dangerous to the welfare of the country than would be two millions of degraded freemen. (i, 144.)

NON-RESISTANCE

Non-resistance is based upon the teachings, doctrines, examples, and spirit of Christ. Christ is its pattern, its theme, its hope, its rejoicing, its advocate and protector, its author and finisher, its Alpha and Omega. (iii, 15.)

* * *

We know not where to look for Christianity if not to its founder; and, taking the record of his life and death, of his teaching and example, we can discover nothing which even remotely, under any conceivable circumstances, justifies the use of the sword or rifle on the part of his followers; on the contrary, we find nothing but self-sacrifice, willing martyrdom (if need be), peace and good-will, and the prohibition of all retaliatory feelings enjoined upon all who would be his disciples. When he said: "Fear not those who kill the body," he broke every deadly weapon. When he said: "My kingdom is not of this world, else would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews," he plainly prohibited war in self-defense, and substituted martyrdom

therefor. When he said: "Love your enemies," he did not mean, "Kill them if they go too far." When he said, while expiring on the cross: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do," he did not treat them as "a herd of buffaloes," but as poor, misguided, and lost men. We believe in his philosophy; we accept his instruction; we are thrilled by his example; we rejoice in his fidelity. How touching is the language of James! "Ye have condemned and killed THE JUST; and *he doth not resist you.*" And how melting to the soul is the declaration: "He was led as a lamb to the slaughter!" And again: "God commendeth his love towards us in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." (iii, 437.)

* * *

In the name of Jesus of Nazareth, who suffered himself to be unresistingly nailed to the cross, we solemnly protest against any of his professed followers resorting to carnal weapons under any pretext or in any extremity whatever. (ii, 190.)

* * *

We register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but

all preparations for war; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a fallen foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defense of a nation by force and arms, on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of government requiring of its subjects military service. Hence we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military office. (ii, 231.)

* * *

The unit cannot be of greater importance than the aggregate. If one man may take life, to obtain or defend his rights, the same license must necessarily be granted to communities, states, and nations. If *he* may use a dagger or a pistol, *they* may employ cannon, bomb-shells, land and naval forces. (ii, 231.)

* * *

It cannot be true, as a moral proposition, that if it is wrong to inflict injuries, it is right to retaliate when they are inflicted. (W, 82.)

* * *

The history of mankind is crowded with evidences proving that physical coercion is not adapted to moral regeneration; that the sinful dispositions of man can be subdued only by love; that evil can be exterminated from the earth only by goodness; that it is not safe to rely upon an arm of flesh, upon man whose breath is in his nostrils, to preserve us from harm; that there is great security in being gentle, harmless, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy; that it is only the meek who shall inherit the earth, for the violent who resort to the sword shall perish with the sword. Hence, as a measure of sound policy, of safety to property, life, and liberty — of public quietude and private enjoyment — as well as on the ground of allegiance to Him who is King of kings and Lord of lords, we cordially adopt the non-resistance principle; being confident that it provides for all possible consequences, will insure all things needful to us, is armed with omnipotent power, and must ultimately triumph over every assailing force. (ii, 232.)

* * *

Of what value or utility are the principles of peace and forgiveness, if we may repudiate them in the hour of peril and suffering? (ii, 18.)

War is as capable of moral analysis as slavery, intemperance, licentiousness, or idolatry. It is not an abstraction, which admits of doubt or uncertainty, but as tangible as bombs, cannon, mangled corpses, smouldering ruins, desolated towns and villages, rivers of blood. It is substantially the same in all ages, and cannot change its moral features. To trace it in all its ramifications is not a difficult matter. In fact, nothing is more terribly distinct than its career; it leaves its impress on everything it touches, whether physical, mental, or moral. (W, 90.)

* * *

Why should we go to a book to settle the character of war, when we could judge of it by its fruits? (iii, 228.)

* * *

Non-resistance *versus* brickbats and bowie-knives! Omnipotence against a worm of the dust! Divine law against lynch law! How unequal! (ii, 219.)

* * *

The dogma that all the governments of the world are approvingly ordained of God, and that THE POWERS THAT BE in the United States, in Russia, in Turkey, are in accordance with his will, is not less absurd than impious. (ii, 231.)

Human governments are to be viewed as judicial punishments. (ii, 203.)

* * *

"May grace, mercy, and *peace*" be with you and yours, now and evermore! (iii, 475.)

PERFECTIONISM

Religion is nothing but love — perfect love toward God and toward man — without formality, without hypocrisy, without partiality — depending upon no outward form to preserve its vitality or prove its existence. (ii, 212.)

* * *

Who talks of weariness in Freedom's cause,
  Knows nothing of its life-sustaining power;
Who in the conflict for the right would pause,
  Beneath a tyrant's rod was made to cower;
Who something loves more than his brother man, —
  Holds it more sacred, at a higher price, —
Fails to discern Redemption's glorious plan,
  Or in what sense Christ is our sacrifice;
Who stands aloof from those who are agreed
  In charity to aid and bless mankind,
Because they walk not by his narrow creed,
  Himself among the fallen spirits shall find;
Who would show loyalty to God must be
At all times true in man's extremity.

(W, 286.)

* * *

Of the millions who profess to believe in the Bible as the inspired word of God, how few

there are who have had the wish or the courage to know on what ground they have formed their opinion! (iii, 145, 146.)

* * *

Your peace and anti-slavery views commend themselves to your understanding, your conscience, and your heart; perhaps you will discover that your theological views have really little to do with your understanding, your conscience, or your heart, independently and absolutely, like the others. (iii, 267.)

* * *

There are, in fact, few *reasoning* Christians; the majority of them are swayed more by the usages of the world than by any definite perception of what constitutes duty — so far, we mean, as relates to the subjugation of vices which are incorporated, as it were, into the existence of society; else why is it that intemperance, and slavery, and war have not ere this in a measure been driven from our land? (i, 84, 85.)

* * *

If the Bible be, from Genesis to Revelation, divinely inspired, its warmest partisans need not be concerned as to its fate. It is to be examined with the same freedom as any other

book, and taken precisely for what it is worth. . . . To say that everything contained within the lids of the Bible is divinely inspired, and to insist upon the dogma as fundamentally important, is to give utterance to a bold fiction, and to require the suspension of the reasoning faculties. To say that everything in the Bible is to be believed, simply because it is found in that volume, is equally absurd and pernicious. (iii, 146.)

* * *

It is a secondary question as to when, where, or by whom the books of the Old and New Testaments were written; but the primary and all-important question is, What do they teach and command? (iii, 386.)

* * *

[The Bible is] a volume to be studied, criticised, and judged, without prejudice, credulity, superstition, or regard to any popular or prevailing interpretation thereof, and with the same freedom as any other book or compilation of ancient manuscripts; in which case, reason and conscience holding mastery over it, it will still be found deserving of the highest consideration for its incomparable truths,

solemn warnings, and precious promises. (Inscription in a Bible to his namesake, 1875.)

* * *

A belief in Jesus is no evidence of goodness. (iii, 289.)

* * *

Of what value are professions where fruits are wanting? or what need of professions where fruits abound? (ii, 176.)

* * *

How can a people fast or be thankful at the bidding or request of any man or body of men? (ii, 51.)

* * *

The right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience is inherent, inalienable, self-evident. (iii, 222.)

* * *

The Sabbath, as now recognized and enforced, is one of the main pillars of Priestcraft and Superstition, and the stronghold of a merely ceremonial Religion. (iii, 224.)

* * *

To expose the popular delusion which prevails on this subject is to advance the cause of a pure Christianity, to promote true and acceptable worship, and to inculcate strict moral

and religious accountability in all the concerns of life, ON ALL DAYS OF THE WEEK ALIKE. (iii, 225.)

* * *

No man who has not consecrated *all* his time to the service of God has ever consecrated a seventh part of it. . . . No man who reverently regards *all* days as holy unto the Lord will desecrate either the first or the seventh day of the week. (ii, 176.)

* * *

— to keep
Not one in seven, but all days holy. (ii, 154.)

* * *

Dear is the Christian Sabbath to my heart,
Bound by no forms, from times and seasons free;
The whole of life absorbing, not a part;
Perpetual rest and perfect liberty!
Who keeps not this, steers by a Jewish chart,
And sails in peril on a storm-tossed sea. (iii, 9.)

* * *

If men cannot help sinning, then they are not guilty in attempting to serve two masters. (iii, 15.)

* * *

Now what is the point in controversy? Not, who is a Christian, or whether this or that individual has attained to a state of "sinless per-

fection"; but whether human beings, in this life, may and ought to serve God with all their mind and strength, and to love their neighbor as themselves! Whether "total abstinence" from *all* sin is not as obligatory as it is from any one sin! (iii, 12.)

* * *

No matter how many, who pretend to keep "the royal law" perfectly, break it in their walk and conversation, and are either hypocrites or self-deceivers: that law should be proclaimed as essential to the recovery of mankind from their fallen condition; and no violation of it by those who profess to observe it, can make it nugatory. (iii, 15.)

* * *

Instead, therefore, of assailing the *doctrine*, "Be ye perfect, even as your Father in Heaven is perfect," let us all aim to establish it, not merely as theoretically right, but as practically attainable; and if we are conscious that we are not yet wholly clean, not yet entirely reconciled to God, not yet filled with perfect love, let us, instead of resisting the light and the truth, and denying that freedom from sin is a Christian's duty and privilege, confess and forsake our sins — give no quarter to unright-

eousness — put on the whole armor of God, that we may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil — believe with all the heart — exercise that faith which overcomes the world, and therefore that cannot be overcome by anything that is in the world — and be willing to be wholly delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son. (iii, 13, 14.)

* * *

I will not put up the superfluous petition: "May the blessings of those who are ready to perish rest upon your head!" — because they do now rest upon it. I will not add: "God bless you!" — as it might seem to imply that he had been "slack concerning his promises," and was growing forgetful. "Blessed *are*," not *shall be*, "the merciful. Blessed *are* they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake," etc., etc. The reward is ever in the performance of the deed. (iii, 432.)

* * *

The clergy will come whenever their flocks take up the line of march. (ii, 174.)

POLITICS

The mysteries of government are only the juggles of usurpers and demagogues. There is nothing intricate in freedom, free labor, free institutions, the law of interchange, the measure of reciprocity. It is the legerdemain of class legislation, disregarding the common interests of the people, that creates confusion, sophisticates the judgment, and dazzles to betray. The law of gravitation needs no legislative props or safeguards to make its operations more effective or more beneficent. (iv, 263.)

* * *

A political contest differs essentially from one that is moral. In the latter, one may chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight. In the former, profligacy and virtue, good and evil, right and wrong meet on equal terms. Success depends wholly on numerical superiority. (ii, 436.)

* * *

Is there one man in the United States — in the whole world — who can honestly and truly affirm, before God, that by becoming a politi-

cian he has improved his manners or morals, his head or his heart, or has elevated the tone of his piety, or felt new emotions of spiritual life? . . . Are there not thousands of good men who have a far different confession to make? (ii, 437.)

FREE TRADE

I avow myself to be a radical free trader, even to the extent of desiring the abolition of all custom-houses, as now constituted, throughout the world. (iv, 263.)

* * *

If, in an open field, we cannot successfully compete with "the cheap and pauperized labor of Europe," in all that is necessary to our comfort, or even to our luxury, then let us go to the wall! Was the slave labor of the South at all a match for the free labor of the North? In which section of the Union was industry best protected or wealth most augmented? Is it not ludicrous to read what piteous calls are made for the protection of the strong against the weak, of the intelligent against the ignorant, of the well-fed against the half-starving, of our free republican nation against the effete governments of the Old World, in all that relates to the welfare of the people? (iv, 265.)

* * *

With all that God has done for us in giving us such a goodly heritage, cannot we contrive to live and flourish without erecting barriers against the freest intercourse with all nations? Must we guard our ports against the free importation of hemp, iron, broadcloth, silk, coal, etc., etc., as though it were a question of quarantine for the smallpox or the Asiatic cholera? (iv, 265.)

* * *

He is the most sagacious political economist who contends for the highest justice, the most far-reaching equality, a close adherence to natural laws, and the removal of all those restrictions which foster national pride and selfishness. (iv, 263.)

SOCIALISM

That society is afflicted with many evils that are to be deplored, and that ought to be removed, is undeniable; but that there is any analogy or comparison between the condition and chances of "the toiling masses" and those to which the millions recently brought out of the house of bondage were subjected, I cannot admit and do not believe. Besides the very aged and the very young, there are comparatively few who are not more or less toiling with their brains or hands, in order to procure the means of subsistence. "The toiling masses," therefore, can only be another appellation for the American people. What have they to complain of in regard to constitution and laws for which they are not directly responsible? What outside power is subjecting them to wrongs and deprivations which call in thunder-tones for another emancipation crusade? What inside power is comparable to their own collective will and unquestionable strength? What new safeguards for their free-

dom, safety, and happiness do they need, that they have not the means to establish?

(iv, 249.)

* * *

You express the conviction that the present relation of capital to labor is "hastening the nation to its ruin," and that, if some remedy is not applied, it is difficult to see "how a bloody struggle is to be prevented." I entertain no such fears. Our danger lies in sensual indulgence, in a licentious perversion of liberty, in the prevalence of intemperance, and in whatever tends to the demoralization of the people. (iv, 249.)

* * *

The subject of social reorganization is attracting general attention, and exciting a growing interest. Many schemes are in embryo, and others have had a birth and are now struggling for an existence. As experiments to bless our race, I feel an interest in them all, though I am not very sanguine as to the result of this new species of colonization. (iii, 81, 82.)

* * *

[Such a one] goes for a community of interest, and against all individual possessions, whether of land or its fruits, of labor or its

products; but he does not act very consistently with his principles, though he says he does the best he can in the present state of society. He holds . . . that man is the creature of circumstances, and therefore not deserving of praise or blame for what he does, — a most absurd and demoralizing doctrine, in my opinion, which will make shipwreck of any man or any scheme under its guidance, in due season. Still, it cannot be denied that circumstances are often very unfavorable to the development of man's faculties and moral nature; and if, by a reorganization of society, these can be rendered more favorable, — as doubtless they can, — let it take place. But it is an internal rather than an outward reorganization that is needed to put away the evil that is in the world. (iii, 94, 95.)

WOMAN'S RIGHTS

The natural rights of one human being are those of every other, in all cases equally sacred and inalienable; hence the boasted "Rights of Man," about which we hear so much, are simply the "Rights of Woman," of which we hear so little; or, in other words, they are the Rights of Humanity, neither affected by, nor dependent upon, sex or condition.

(iii, 391, 392.)

* * *

As our object is *universal* emancipation, — to redeem woman as well as man from a servile to an equal condition, — we shall go for the RIGHTS OF WOMAN to their utmost extent. (ii, 204.)

* * *

I conceive that the first thing to be done by the women of this country is to demand their political enfranchisement. Among the "self-evident truths" announced in the Declaration of Independence is this: "All government derives its *just* power from the *consent of the governed*." Judging by this rule, the existing government

is a despotism. One half of the population is disfranchised on account of sex; three millions are dehumanized on account of complexion! (iii, 310.)

* * *

Suffrage is a right primarily given — by whom? Where did Hancock and Adams, Washington and Jefferson, Revolutionary Federalists and Republicans, Dr. Bushnell and the opposers of woman suffrage generally, get their right to vote? Who gave them authority to choose their own rulers? Women claim no other title to it than men assert for themselves; and that claim is as valid in the one case as it is in the other. (iv, 245.)

* * *

It is a fact, cognizable by the whole earth, that men always behave in the presence of women better than when women are absent, as I presume the women behave a great deal better in the presence of men than when the men are absent. (iii, 311.)

DEATH

The longer I live, the longer I desire to live, and the more I see the desirableness of living; yet certainly not in this frail body, but just as it shall please the dear Father of us all. (iv, 252.)

* * *

Death itself to me is not terrible, is not repulsive, is not to be deplored. I see in it as clear an evidence of Divine wisdom and beneficence as I do in the birth of a child, in the works of creation, in all the arrangements and operations of nature. I neither fear nor regret its power. I neither expect nor supplicate to be exempted from its legitimate action. It is not to be chronicled among calamities; it is not to be styled "a mysterious dispensation of Divine Providence;" it is scarcely rational to talk of being resigned to it. For what is more natural — what more universal — what more impartial — what more serviceable — what more desirable, in God's own time, hastened neither by our ignorance nor folly? Discarding, as I do, as equally absurd and

monstrous, the theological dogma that death settles forever the condition of those who die, whether for an eternity of bliss or misery for the deeds done here in the body — and believing, as I do, without doubt or wavering, in the everlasting progression of the human race, in the ultimate triumph of infinite love over finite error and sinfulness, in the fatherly care and boundless goodness of that Creator "whose tender mercies are over all the works of his hands" — I see nothing strange, appalling, or even sad in death. (iii, 263, 264.)

* * *

Where the cherished one who has been snatched from us is, what is his situation, or what his employment, I know not, of course; and it gives me no anxiety whatever. Until I join him, at least, my responsibility to him as his guardian and protector has ceased; he does not need my aid, he cannot be benefited by my counsel. That he will still be kindly cared for by Him who numbers the very hairs of our heads, and without whose notice a sparrow cannot fall to the ground; that he is still living, having thrown aside his mortal drapery, and occupying a higher sphere of existence — I do not entertain a doubt. (iii, 264.)

Since the creation of the world there has been no tyrant like INTEMPERANCE, and no slaves so cruelly treated as his. (i, 268.)

* * *

A star of glory has in darkness waned —
No more on earth survives the good man eloquent.
(ii, 366.)

* * *

Let us be sparing of our panegyrics, recollecting that indiscriminate praise of the dead is often more injurious than the coarsest obloquy. (i, 63.)

* * *

[Of Fourth of July orators.] Their orations should be composed, not merely of rhapsodies upon the deeds of our fathers — of a tame repetition of the wrongs which they suffered, of ceaseless apostrophes to liberty, and fierce denunciations of tyranny — but they should also abound with wholesome political axioms and reflections; the rock should be pointed out upon which other nations have split — the pruning-knife should lop off every

excrescence of vanity — and our follies and virtues should be skillfully held up in equal light. (i, 66.)

* * *

It is possible that a people may bear the title of freemen who execute the work of slaves. (i, 128.)

* * *

The people may err — they often do; they may be badly deceived — they often are; but the people as such are never willfully deceived, nor are they hostile to their own interests. They may be deceived, but they will by and bye understand the deceptions and deal with the deceivers; but you cannot possibly have a broader basis for any government than that which includes all the people, with all their rights in their hands, and with an equal power to maintain their rights. (iv, 224.)

* * *

What is government but the express image of the moral character of a people? (ii, 151.)

* * *

We should, as nations, reciprocate rebukes. And as we send our souls to theirs, freighted with reproof and exhortation, let them meet

on the deep, and embrace as angel spirits, and pass on. (ii, 408.)

* * *

It seems to me that our intercourse with our fellow-men will be to little benefit if we confine ourselves to the consideration of topics about which we are already agreed, or which are of a trivial character. (iii, 171.)

* * *

Fine and delicate phraseology may please the ear; but masculine truths are utterly divorced from effeminate words, and cannot be united without begetting a dwarfish progeny. (i, 460.)

* * *

It is the best investment for the soul's welfare possible, to take hold of something which is righteous but unpopular. *Righteous* but unpopular, for men may get hold of an unpopular cause which deserves to be unpopular and is not righteous. (iv, 278.)

* * *

We conceive that our obligation to do a righteous act is not at all dependent on the question whether we shall succeed in carrying the multitude with us. (iii, 103.)

* * *

Moral courage — duty — self-consecration — all have their proper limits. When he who knew no fear — the immaculate Redeemer — saw that his enemies intended to cast him down from the brow of a hill, he prudently withdrew from their midst. When he sent forth his apostles, he said unto them, "When they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another." (i, 507.)

* * *

Moral influence, when in vigorous exercise, is irresistible. It has an immortal essence. It can no more be trod out of existence by the iron foot of time, or by the ponderous march of iniquity, than matter can be annihilated. It may disappear for a time; but it lives in some shape or other, in some place or other, and will rise with renovated strength. (W, 58, 59.)

* * *

It does not follow that the Almighty will crown with success all means and measures alike, for the furtherance of the cause of peace. . . . It is not enough that we have a good cause; this will avail us little or nothing unless the principles which we advance, and the measures which we adopt to carry it forward, are just and appropriate. (iii, 80.)

Against this hateful spirit of caste [in the proscription of the Chinese] I have earnestly protested for the last fifty years, wherever it has developed itself, especially in the case of another class for many generations still more contemned, degraded, and oppressed; and the time has fully come to deal with it as an offense to God, and a curse to the world wherever it seeks to bear sway. The Chinese are our fellow-men, and are entitled to every consideration that our common humanity may justly claim. . . . Such of them as are seeking to better their condition, being among the poorer classes, by coming to these shores, we should receive with hospitality and kindness. If properly treated, they cannot fail to be serviceable to ourselves or to improve their own condition. It is for them to determine what they shall eat, what they shall drink, and wherewithal they shall be clothed; to adhere to their own customs and follow their own tastes as they shall choose; to make their own contracts and maintain their own rights; to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, or their ideas of religious duty. Such of them as may be in a filthy and squalid state we must endeavor to assist to a higher plane;

and if we would see them become converts to Christianity, we must show them its purifying and elevating power by our dealings with them. (iv, 299.)

* * *

Long before the advent of Christ, it was from the lips of Confucius came that Golden Rule which we are taught in the Gospel to follow as the rule of life in all our dealings with our fellow-men, and which, carried into practice, will insure peace, happiness, and prosperity not only to the dwellers of the Pacific Coast, but to all peoples on the face of the whole earth. (iv, 300.)

* * *

Whoever holds to an opinion or sentiment which he is not pleased to see dealt with boldly and searchingly, gives evidence that he is conscious that it will not bear such treatment, or that he has taken it upon trust, usage, parental, educational, traditional authority, and not upon his own clear-wrought, unbiased convictions. (iii, 267.)

* * *

Who shall presume to say to another, in regard to the examination of any creed, book, ordinance, day, or form of government, — of

anything natural or reputedly miraculous, — "Thus far shalt thou go, but no farther"? (iii, 267.)

* * *

More joy I feel, the first-born grassy spire
To see, than greenest fields and fairest bowers:
In full fruition there is lost desire.

(S, 80.)

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

William Lloyd Garrison was not born in Boston, nor did it happen to him to die in this city. It was, however, his home for two-thirds of his long life; no native loved it more dearly; and more, perhaps, than any one connected with its history he confirmed and widened its reputation as the philanthropic focus of the country. He came to it a needy type-setter, friendless and obscure. The notoriety and influence which he acquired as an agitator were opposed to the sentiments and immediate pecuniary interests of the ruling classes — the so-called respectability — of Boston. To them he appeared a vulgar and fanatical intruder, tarnishing the fair fame of the city and injuring its Southern trade; and when they mobbed him, in the vain effort to silence his propaganda, there was no consideration of wealth, or education, or lineage that could plead with them on his behalf.

His parents were humble folk, natives of the province of New Brunswick. The father,

Abijah Garrison, was a sailing-master, born on the St. John River of a Massachusetts mother — a man of a generous and social nature, a sanguine temperament, a considerable gift of literary expression, and the ordinary weaknesses of a sailor. The mother, Fanny Lloyd, possessed exceptional physical beauty and strength and elevation of character, forfeiting home and parental affection rather than abandon the Baptist faith, to which she early became a convert. In the year 1805 this couple removed from Nova Scotia to Newburyport, Mass., and here their son William was born, on December 10.

The slender circumstances of the family were shortly reduced to poverty and dependence when the father abandoned it, for causes unknown, but supposed to relate to his intemperance. The mother, with her three children, was forced to migrate in search of employment as a nurse, and settled first in Lynn and afterwards in Baltimore, where she died, after years of great bodily suffering, in 1823. But Lloyd could not be happy away from his birthplace, where kind, if indigent, friends gave him a home and a chance to get a limited education at the grammar school.

He had proved too slight for the shoemaker's trade in Lynn, and the cabinet-maker's in Haverhill he did not like and ran away from. A happy fate, in 1818, provided an apprenticeship in the office of the Newburyport "Herald," and the boy not only soon mastered the printer's art and became the foreman of the establishment, but presently began to write anonymously for the paper, and to have the joy of seeing his articles accepted. When his secret was found out, he was encouraged and befriended by Caleb Cushing, the temporary editor of the "Herald," and exercised his pen on a great variety of topics, sentimental and political.

In 1826, at the close of his apprenticeship, the young Garrison bought of Isaac Knapp the (Newburyport) "Essex Courant," and continued it under the name of the "Free Press," justifying the new title by a programme of editorial independence from which he never deviated throughout his career. He gave hospitality in its columns to the first poetical productions of Whittier, whose shy genius he detected, and whom he sought out and urged to devote himself to literature. As yet Garrison had published nothing in verse him-

self, and he never approached the level of his friend, the Quaker poet of humanity. But the poetic impulse was always strong in him, and the total number of his pieces (in which the sonnet form predominates) is very considerable. In the "Free Press" he showed already a capacity to be touched by the wrongs of the slave; but his preoccupation at this time was political rather than reformatory. Towards the end of the year he relinquished the newspaper, which had not prospered, and went to Boston, where, for several months, he earned his living as a compositor at the case in various offices. Meanwhile, he followed with eager interest the doings of the National Republican (Federal) party, with which he was in full sympathy; and in July, 1827, attended a caucus to nominate a successor to Daniel Webster in the House of Representatives. Rising to speak out of the regular time, he made so strong a plea in favor of Harrison Gray Otis that the managers were disconcerted, and were forced to adjourn the caucus in order to avoid a nomination that was distasteful to them. This interference, by a new-comer of low degree, was resented by a writer in the Boston "Courier," to

whom Mr. Garrison retorted, in the same paper: —

> I sympathize with the gentleman in the difficulty which he found to learn my cognomination. It is true that my acquaintance in this city is limited — I have sought for none. Let me assure him, however, that, if my life be spared, my name shall one day be known to the world, — at least to such extent that common inquiry shall be unnecessary. This, I know, will be deemed excessive vanity — but time shall prove it prophetic.

The way to the fulfillment of this prophecy led him to take lodgings with the Rev. William Collier, a Baptist city missionary, who had founded and was conducting the "National Philanthropist" — the first paper in the world devoted chiefly to the cause of temperance, and advocating total abstinence. Of this journal Mr. Garrison became the editor in January, 1828, and infused much vigor into it and the temperance enterprise. But his life-work was not to lie in that direction, though he ever remained true to the principles of a cause to which the sad experience of his father and his only brother would have sufficed to attach him. Among the transient boarders at Mr. Collier's house came, in March, 1828,

Benjamin Lundy, a New Jersey Quaker (born in 1789), editor in Baltimore of the "Genius of Universal Emancipation." He was almost the first (and was now the only) American dedicated exclusively to the abolition of slavery, with a perseverance and self-abnegation beyond all praise. Outside of him, his journal, and its few supporters, there was no anti-slavery life or movement in the whole country, which lay dead to all humane instincts, so far as slavery was concerned, in the smothering embrace of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. Though his person was insignificant and he was a poor speaker, being deaf, his earnestness and the goodness of his cause won him many converts in private, wherever his unwearied pedestrianism carried him. His visit to Boston proved a sore disappointment in its immediate aim, — the enlisting of the clergy in the anti-slavery agitation; but in Mr. Garrison a youthful disciple was obtained who was worth them all.

Still, the latter had not yet lost his interest in politics, and accepted an invitation from the National Republicans of Bennington, Vt., to edit a new paper there in behalf of the candidacy of John Quincy Adams for reëlection

to the Presidency. The first number of the "Journal of the Times" was issued in October, 1828, and Mr. Garrison's salutatory gave evidence of his intention to use freely the liberty accorded him in his engagement, of advocating "the suppression of intemperance and its associate vices, the gradual emancipation of every slave in the republic, and the perpetuity of national peace," — three objects, the editor said, "which we shall pursue through life, whether in this place or elsewhere." He began at once to give practical effect to his anti-slavery doctrine, by coöperating with Lundy for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; and the latter, who eagerly watched the "Journal of the Times," at last journeyed from Baltimore to Bennington to entreat him to become an associate editor of the "Genius." The appeal was successful, and, at the end of his contract, in March, 1829, Mr. Garrison bade good-by to his Green Mountain public, "to occupy a broader field, and to engage in a higher enterprise."

Pending Lundy's absence in Hayti he returned to Boston, and received in June an invitation to deliver a Fourth of July address at Park Street Church, under the auspices of

the Congregational societies of the city, and in behalf of the American Colonization Society. This society had been founded ostensibly to improve the condition (otherwise hopeless, it was alleged) of the free blacks, by exporting them to Liberia, along with such slaves as might be emancipated for the purpose. Slaveholders were among its founders and officers, and slaveholding was no bar to membership. When collecting funds abroad, great stress was laid upon its being an emancipation society; at home, any intention to meddle with the system of slavery was carefully disclaimed. Of all this Mr. Garrison was ignorant, and in fact he had very little to say about the Society in his discourse, while dwelling forcibly upon the enormities of slavery, the national disgrace and peril of it, and the duty of the free States to assist in its overthrow.

From gradual emancipation Mr. Garrison's mind had worked its way, before he set out for Baltimore, to immediate and unconditional emancipation as the only vital measure of reform. He frankly compared views with Lundy, a gradualist, on joining him, and it was agreed that each should sign his articles in the "Genius," and urge the common end

in his own way. The result was, that many of the subscribers to the paper were greatly disturbed by the new doctrine, and that the list began rapidly to fall off, in spite of all Lundy's efforts to replenish it. In November, 1829, the partnership and the paper received a fatal blow. A Newburyport merchant, Francis Todd, had allowed one of his ships to convey a cargo of slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans, and this circumstance filled his townsman with indignation and horror. Mr. Garrison used the "Genius" to denounce the domestic slave-trade, of which this was an example, and "to illustrate New England humanity and morality." "I am resolved," he said, "to cover with thick infamy all who were concerned in this nefarious business." A civil suit for damages was, in consequence, begun by Mr. Todd; but Mr. Garrison was first tried on an indictment for libel by the Baltimore Grand Jury, and, having been convicted, was sent to jail, on April 17, 1830, in default of a fine and costs exceeding one hundred dollars.

So far from being cast down by this first experience of the spirit of slavery, Garrison's buoyancy and mental activity were never

greater than in the forty-nine days of his imprisonment. He interested himself in the cases of his fellow-inmates; he rebuked slaveholders coming to the jail to reclaim fugitives; he composed anti-slavery addresses, and verses of which the sonnet "Freedom of the Mind" is in his best vein, and well illustrates the exaltation of his mood.[1]

More than this, he wrote letters to the Boston "Courier" and the Newburyport "Herald," by which his fate, as an American citizen denied freedom of speech, was widely published, and excited both indignation and sympathy. The report of his trial moved Arthur Tappan, in particular, a princely merchant philanthropist of New York, to offer to pay Mr. Garrison's fine and to help reëstablish the "Genius." On June 5, 1830, Lundy's partner was accordingly released; but a visit to Massachusetts to raise funds for the "Genius" proved unavailing, and Mr. Garrison projected a paper of his own, to be published in Washington. He returned once more to Massachusetts, lecturing on slavery by the way to mixed audiences, and October found him in Boston, endeavoring in vain to secure the free use of a

[1] See *ante*, page 7.

church or hall for a course of lectures on the same subject. An "infidel" society at length tendered him Julien Hall, formerly standing on the northwest corner of Milk and Congress Streets, and there, on October 15, Mr. Garrison delivered his first discourse, having among his auditors Dr. Lyman Beecher, Rev. Ezra S. Gannett, Rev. Samuel J. May, A. Bronson Alcott, and Samuel E. Sewall. His remarks, which were particularly directed against the Colonization Society, powerfully affected Mr. May and his kinsmen, Messrs. Sewall and Alcott, and they at once attached themselves to the speaker, who gave three subsequent lectures in the same hall and elsewhere.

The support of Messrs. May and Sewall was the turning-point in Garrison's career. It encouraged him to abandon his design of going to Washington to establish a paper which was more needed at the North, and he thereupon formed a partnership with his townsman, Isaac Knapp (who had lately rejoined him in Baltimore), to issue a weekly paper, called the "Liberator." This tiny sheet, with its 14 × 9 printed page, was put forth on January 1, 1831, without a subscriber, in borrowed type, and was set by the partners (in hours snatched from

journeyman's work, by which they got their living), worked off on the press and mailed by them. They were determined, as they announced, to print the paper as long as they could subsist upon bread and water, or their hands obtain employment. The office was in Merchants' Hall, on the northeast corner of Congress and Water Streets, was bare and dingy, and served as a lodging for Garrison and Knapp. The motto of the "Liberator" was Mr. Garrison's own: "Our Country is the World, Our Countrymen are Mankind."[1]

His salutatory read as follows: —

TO THE PUBLIC

In the month of August I issued proposals for publishing the "Liberator" in Washington city; but the enterprise, though hailed in different sections of the country, was palsied by public indifference. Since that time, the removal of the "Genius of Universal Emancipation" to the Seat of Government has rendered less imperious the establishment of a similar periodical in that quarter.

During my recent tour for the purpose of exciting the minds of the people by a series of discourses

[1] Subsequently modified into "My Country is the World, My Countrymen are all Mankind," as it appears on the pedestal of the statue on Commonwealth Avenue, Boston.

on the subject of slavery, every place that I visited gave fresh evidence of the fact, that a greater revolution in public sentiment was to be effected in the free States — *and particularly in New England* — than at the South. I found contempt more bitter, opposition more active, detraction more relentless, prejudice more stubborn, and apathy more frozen, than among slave-owners themselves. Of course, there were individual exceptions to the contrary. This state of things afflicted, but did not dishearten me. I determined, at every hazard, to lift up the standard of emancipation in the eyes of the nation, *within sight of Bunker Hill and in the birthplace of liberty.* That standard is now unfurled; and long may it float, unhurt by the spoliations of time or the missiles of a desperate foe — yea, till every chain be broken, and every bondman set free! Let Southern oppressors tremble — let their secret abettors tremble — let their Northern apologists tremble — let all the enemies of the persecuted blacks tremble.

I deem the publication of my original Prospectus unnecessary, as it has obtained a wide circulation. The principles therein inculcated will be steadily pursued in this paper, excepting that I shall not array myself as the political partisan of any man. In defending the great cause of human rights, I wish to derive the assistance of all religions and of all parties.

Assenting to the "self-evident truth" maintained in the American Declaration of Independence, "that

all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights — among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," I shall strenuously contend for the immediate enfranchisement of our slave population. In Park Street Church, on the Fourth of July, 1829, in an address on slavery, I unreflectingly assented to the popular but pernicious doctrine of *gradual* abolition. I seize this opportunity to make a full and unequivocal recantation, and thus publicly to ask pardon of my God, of my country, and of my brethren, the poor slaves, for having uttered a sentiment so full of timidity, injustice, and absurdity. A similar recantation, from my pen, was published in the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," at Baltimore, in September, 1829. My conscience is now satisfied.

I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! no! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen, — but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest — I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch — AND I WILL BE HEARD. The apathy

of the people is enough to make every statue leap from its pedestal, and to hasten the resurrection of the dead.

It is pretended that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective and the precipitancy of my measures. *The charge is not true.* On this question my influence, — humble as it is, — is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years — not perniciously, but beneficially — not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God, that he enables me to disregard "the fear of man which bringeth a snare," and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power. And here I close with this fresh dedication: —

Oppression! I have seen thee face to face,
And met thy cruel eye and cloudy brow;
But thy soul-withering glance I fear not now—
For dread to prouder feelings doth give place
Of deep abhorrence! Scorning the disgrace
Of slavish knees that at thy footstool bow,
I also kneel — but with far other vow
Do hail thee and thy herd of hirelings base: —
I swear, while life-blood warms my throbbing veins,
Still to oppose and thwart, with heart and hand,
Thy brutalizing sway — till Afric's chains
Are burst, and Freedom rules the rescued land,—
Trampling Oppression and his iron rod:
Such is the vow I take — SO HELP ME GOD!

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

BOSTON, January 1, 1831.

Language like this, and a pictorial heading (adopted in the seventeenth number) which showed a slave auction in Washington, — negroes and horses being sold promiscuously from the same block, — made the "Liberator" a very alarming paper for Southern circulation, whether by chance or otherwise. Mr. Garrison distinctly avowed, nevertheless, a purely moral and pacific warfare, addressed not to the violent passions of slaves stimulated to revolt, but to the consciences of the masters, and especially of the citizens of the free States, involved under the Constitution in the guilt of slavery. But the South took no notice of such distinctions, and called upon the North to suppress the "Liberator" and its editor, as promoting slave insurrections. Menaces were freely sent him through the mails; his extradition was sought on the indictment of Southern grand juries; the Governor of South Carolina sent to the Legislature copies of the "Liberator" and of an address to the free people of color, delivered by Mr. Garrison in June in many cities of the North, and reported that the constituted authorities of Boston had declared their inability to interfere with the paper or the agitation. Har-

rison Gray Otis, the then Mayor, had, at the request of ex-Senator Hayne, ferreted out the office of the "Liberator," through his police, who described it as "an obscure hole," containing the editor and a negro boy, "his only visible auxiliary," while his supporters were "a very few insignificant persons of all colors." The Nat Turner insurrection in Virginia, in August, 1831, terrified the South beyond measure, and led to numberless precautions to keep out the new "incendiary" literature. In December the Legislature of Georgia offered a reward of $5000 for the apprehension and conviction of the editor or publisher of the "Liberator" — a direct incentive to kidnaping.

The "Liberator," however, had taken root, thanks to the generosity of a handful of new-made friends, who supplied its deficit and enabled the editor to make an occasional journey in behalf of the cause. Garrison's next care was to organize societies upon the principle of immediate emancipation, and to make a beginning in Boston. This seemed hazardous, even to those who were sustaining the "Liberator," and it was with the utmost difficulty that twelve men were found ready to

form a New England (afterwards the Massachusetts) Anti-Slavery Society. This vital event took place in the colored church on Belknap (now Joy) Street, in January, 1832, and out of it grew, in a few years, a host of similar organizations all over the free States. The work of agitation by tracts and public addresses was now systematically begun, Mr. Garrison himself being among the first to take the field as a lecturing agent of the new society. But his principal task this year was an elaborate exposure of the Colonization Society, in a thick pamphlet, entitled "Thoughts on African Colonization," and mainly composed of extracts from the Society's official reports and speeches. For the means to issue this, Mr. Garrison was especially indebted to Arthur Tappan, and to Isaac Winslow of Portland. The work produced a profound impression, for it struck at a pseudo-charity which stood in high favor with the churches and regularly levied upon them for its revenue. It opened the eyes of hundreds of well-meaning and influential men, sincerely opposed to slavery, whose consciences the Society had lulled, and drew them irresistibly to the side of Mr. Garrison. It stimulated debate in the

theological societies, and caused disruption in some. The general result was to cripple and discredit the Colonization Society, and to remove it out of the way of the genuine movement against slavery. Garrison rightly regarded this as the first step towards emancipation; and, in fact, wherever the Society held its adherents most tenaciously, there the abolitionists encountered either the greatest apathy or the greatest resistance.

One of the colonization strongholds was New Haven, and in September, 1831, a town meeting, called by the mayor and aldermen with the support of all the leading citizens, excitedly pledged the city to resist any attempt to establish there a Manual-Labor College for colored youth, as had been contemplated by the Rev. S. S. Jocelyn and Arthur Tappan, of course with Mr. Garrison's cordial approval. The project was not given over after the rebuff at New Haven, and it was resolved to send Mr. Garrison to England to raise additional funds for it. It was also desirable that, being there, he should head off Elliott Cresson, a Quaker emissary of the Colonization Society, engaged in raising money by misrepresenting the attitude of that body towards

slavery. Strenuous efforts were made by its agents to detain and arrest Mr. Garrison, and he had even to elude supposed Southern kidnappers on behalf of Georgia; but he succeeded in sailing in May, 1833, and landed safely in England.

Here he was very cordially received by James Cropper and the other leading English abolitionists, who were just achieving the passage of the act of West India Emancipation through Parliament. He had interviews with Wilberforce, Clarkson (whom Cresson had hoodwinked), and Buxton (who had supposed Mr. Garrison a black man, because of the fervor with which he had advocated a cause not his own), and secured the friendship of Daniel O'Connell. He was advised that nothing could be done at that time for the Manual-Labor school, and he devoted all his energies to the discomfiture of Cresson, who refused to meet him in debate, and whom he showed up in great meetings in Exeter Hall and in other places. This done, and having taken part in the public burial of Wilberforce in Westminster Abbey, he returned to America.

His arrival in New York was the signal for a mob, incited by the colonization and pro-

slavery press, using as a pretext his denunciation abroad of his country's guilt in slaveholding. The rioters vented themselves on the New York City Anti-Slavery Society, which happened just then to be forming, and Mr. Garrison moved among them as an eye-witness, unknown and unmolested. In Boston a similar reception was prepared for him by placards; but his adopted city was not yet ripe for violence towards him.

In December, 1833, the anti-slavery organization was completed by the formation at Philadelphia of an American Anti-Slavery Society, composed of delegates from nearly all the free States. Mr. Garrison was given the task of drawing up the Declaration of Sentiments, which placed the agitation on a non-resistant basis; that is, it counseled submission on the part of the slave until his deliverance should be wrought by moral instrumentalities. Comparing the abolitionists with the Revolutionary fathers, it said: —

Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. *Ours* forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal

weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.

Their measures were physical resistance, the marshaling in arms, the hostile array, the mortal encounter. *Ours* shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption, the destruction of error by the potency of truth, the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love, and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

In regard to the legal scope of the agitation the Declaration had these passages: —

We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State to legislate exclusively on the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its limits; we concede that Congress, *under the present national compact*, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States in relation to this momentous subject:

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave-trade between the several States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States to remove slavery by moral and political

action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern States; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave-owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its protection; and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver.

This relation to slavery is criminal, and full of danger; IT MUST BE BROKEN UP.

The officers of the American Society had their headquarters in New York, and exhibited remarkable activity in multiplying and circulating anti-slavery documents of every description.

Mr. Garrison was married in September, 1834, to Helen Eliza Benson, daughter of George Benson, a venerable philanthropist, one of the Rhode Island abolitionists of the previous century, then living in Brooklyn, Conn. A few weeks afterwards they had for their guest, in Roxbury, George Thompson, an Englishman of his own age and station

whom Mr. Garrison had met while abroad. He was an orator of unsurpassed eloquence, who had rendered the greatest services in creating the popular demand for West India emancipation. Mr. Garrison, desiring to make use of such talents in the kindred cause on this side of the water, had invited him to come over, which he did, bringing his family with him. His arguments and methods were precisely those of the American abolitionists,—drawn on the one hand from the Bible, on the other from the Declaration of Independence. He, too, abhorred insurrection as a means of freedom. Nevertheless, the fact that he was a foreigner, and that slavery was a great political question in the United States, roused public indignation against him, and led to mobs in many parts of New England, where his labors first began. However, in other places he was well received, speaking from many pulpits, and he was of the greatest assistance in causing new societies to be formed, and the "Liberator" (which was in desperate straits) to be sustained.

Thompson's appearance, and the renewed evidence of the strength of the abolition organization, thoroughly alarmed the South, and

provoked meetings in which the North was solemnly entreated to arrest the bloodthirsty wretches who were planning a new San Domingo on American soil, with the aid of foreign interlopers. Documents from the New York anti-slavery press, though never addressed to the slaves, were found in the Southern mails; and in Charleston, on July 29, 1835, the post-office was broken open, the mails overhauled, and the obnoxious tracts and periodicals burnt in a bonfire, together with effigies of Tappan and Garrison. A meeting of the citizens of Richmond, shortly afterward, on August 4, made a fresh appeal against the Northern fanatics, and touched the sympathy of the respectable classes of Boston. These, headed by the Mayor, Theodore Lyman, Jr., held in Faneuil Hall, on August 21, a great meeting, which had been called by fifteen hundred citizens, largely of the mercantile class, who saw their trade with the South imperiled. The principal speeches were made by Peleg (afterwards Judge) Sprague, and by Harrison Gray Otis, who never spoke in public again. Their remarks were highly condemnatory of those who were (as they alleged) using Boston as a basis of attack on the peace and

security of the South, and Mr. Sprague's were especially directed against George Thompson as a foreign emissary and professed agitator.

Great numbers of Southerners had gathered to attend the meeting, and the feeling of the citizens generally was such that Mr. Garrison prudently withdrew to Brooklyn, Conn., from which place he sent trenchant reviews of the Faneuil Hall speeches to the "Liberator." When he returned, calm had apparently been restored; but, on the announcement that Thompson would address an anniversary meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, the mob spirit fiercely revived, and its vengeance fell by proxy upon the editor of the "Liberator." The details of the riot on October 21, 1835, by "gentlemen of property and standing," must be sought in the "Life of Garrison by his Children," and in Colonel Lyman's pamphlet on the Garrison Mob. The victim was advised by Mayor Lyman to leave the anti-slavery office (on Washington Street, below State Street), in which he could not be protected; was discovered and seized by the mob on Wilson's Lane (now Devonshire Street), roughly handled, and marched with a rope about his body past the lower end

of the Old State House (then the City Hall), the plan being to take him to the Common and tar and feather him. By great exertion the Mayor and his aids got Mr. Garrison into the building through the south door, and presently, by a ruse, took him from the north door into a carriage in waiting, and drove him to the city jail, on Leverett Street. This was a most perilous undertaking, and barely succeeded; for the mob endeavored to overturn the carriage and to cut the traces, and pursued hotly up to the very doors of the jail, where Mr. Garrison, whose demeanor had been perfectly calm and self-possessed, was committed as a rioter, and passed a tranquil night, though with a natural anxiety on account of his wife. The next day, by request of the authorities, he secretly left the city, in which the mob had produced the usual number of converts to the doctrines they were striving to suppress; but Thompson was obliged to flee the country.

The reign of terror, of which this was a single incident, reached its climax in 1837, when the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy was mobbed to death in Alton, Ill., for editing an anti-slavery newspaper. Mr. Garrison himself was

never afterwards personally attacked, though often, in common with his colleagues, in extreme danger, as at the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, in Philadelphia, in 1838. His measured language, his shining purity of motive, his moral earnestness, were all calculated to convince, rather than to excite the spirit of violence. In the period which followed the Boston mob, his contention was more immediately with his own abolition household. Seeds of dissension had here been sown by clergymen to whom Mr. Garrison's "harsh language" and controlling influence were irksome, and who, at length, joined in a Clerical Appeal against the conduct of the "Liberator," while it was temporarily in the hands of his friend Oliver Johnson (one of the founders of the New England Anti-Slavery Society). The controversy gradually involved Mr. Garrison's views upon the Sabbath (which were substantially those held by the Quakers), and upon the nature of human governments as tested by the requirements of Christianity; he holding that, as they were all based on violence, they were opposed to the spirit of the Gospel, and must ultimately be superseded. These views were censured as if they were identical

with the doctrine of our latter-day dynamite anarchists; and, in spite of their irrelevancy to Mr. Garrison's abolitionism, were made the ground of an attempt to depose him from the anti-slavery leadership, to put the agitation in the hands of the Orthodox clergy, and to set up a sectarian organ which should leave no room for the "Liberator." The new organ was actually founded; but a new and rival Massachusetts Abolition Society, under clerical auspices, had to be created at the same time, which must have had a brief existence but for its gaining the sympathy of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society at New York.

In May, 1840, a breach was effected in the ranks of the abolitionists at large by the differences between this Executive Committee and the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, or, in other words, Mr. Garrison and his friends. The causes which led up to it were complex. In brief, it was a trial of strength between those who held that the only test of abolitionism was adherence to the doctrine of immediatism, and those who maintained that orthodoxy was equally a test; between those who, like Mr. Garrison, insisted on the right

of women to take part, on an equal footing with men, in the proceedings and direction of anti-slavery meetings and societies, and those who denied this right, as being unscriptural and subversive of the natural subordination of the sexes; finally, between those who declared that every abolitionist ought to vote at the polls, and for an anti-slavery candidate, and those who, with Mr. Garrison, regarded voting as an instrumentality within the option of every abolitionist, according to his conscience.

The woman question was the ostensible cause of the division which resulted in the formation of a nominal American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and the retirement of the old Executive Committee into the ranks of the opposition. It had grown out of the public anti-slavery lecturing of the sisters Grimké (natives of South Carolina) in New England, at first to women, and afterwards to mixed audiences. The clerical and sectarian opposition to this (as it seemed) shocking procedure was revived by the lecturing, in like manner, of Miss Abby Kelley, of Massachusetts; and it was her nomination to a committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society

in session at New York, in May, 1840, which determined the secession, and left the Garrisonians the masters of the situation.

In the meantime a World's Convention had been called in London, by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and both wings of the abolitionists sent over delegates. Mr. Garrison was one from the old organization, and with him were appointed Lucretia Mott and several other women delegates. The managers had been coached by the seceders on this side, and were more than ready (under sectarian influence) to refuse the admission of women to seats in the Convention. Mr. Garrison, whose voyage was belated, found them, in fact, excluded on his arrival out, in June, 1840, and he refused, himself, to take a seat while his co-delegates were shut out. He accordingly sat in the gallery, and rejected all overtures to take a place on the floor or to address the Convention.

Already, before his departure for England, the seceders, in default of capturing and converting the existing anti-slavery machinery, which Mr. Garrison had strenuously resisted, had formed a national political anti-slavery organization called the Liberty party. Their

nominee for President was James G. Birney, lately Corresponding Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society, before the schism; and their doctrine was, that no one should remain in the abolition ranks who did not go to the polls and vote. This had the awkwardness of applying to the original abolitionist himself, whose influence was especially deprecated by the seceders, because he had openly embraced the doctrine of non-resistance for himself, though he did not impose or seek to impose it as an anti-slavery test. He had, in September, 1838, founded, in Boston, the Non-Resistance Society, with the aid of Edmund Quincy, Maria W. Chapman, and others, and composed the Declaration of Sentiments: —

"We register our testimony," it said, "not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war, against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a fallen foe, all trophies won in battle; all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defence of a nation by force and arms, on the part

of any legislative body; against every edict of government requiring of its subjects military service. Hence, we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military office.

"As every human government is upheld by physical strength, and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to compel men to do right, on pain of imprisonment or death. We therefore voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of authority. If *we* cannot occupy a seat in the legislature or on the bench, neither can we elect *others* to act as our substitutes in any such capacity.

"It follows, that we cannot sue any man at law, to compel him by force to restore anything which he may have wrongfully taken from us or others; but, if he has seized our coat, we shall surrender up our cloak, rather than subject him to punishment. . . .

"We advocate no jacobinical doctrines. The spirit of jacobinism is the spirit of retaliation, violence, and murder. It neither fears God nor regards man. *We* would be filled with the spirit of CHRIST. If we abide by our principles, it is impossible for us to be disorderly, or plot treason, or participate in any evil work; we shall submit to every ordinance of man, FOR THE LORD'S SAKE; obey all the require-

ments of government, except such as we deem contrary to the demands of the gospel; and in no case resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience."

"It appears to us a self-evident truth," continued the same document, "that whatever the gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, being contrary to it, ought *now* to be abandoned." This was the keynote of Mr. Garrison's conduct of life, so far as the individual was concerned. If slavery was sinful, the duty of the slaveholder to let his victim go free was instant and immediate, not remote; the duty of his accomplice not otherwise. If the fulfillment of Christianity was to be peace on earth and good will to man, Christians had no excuse for prolonging for a single hour the reign of violence. The law of Christianity was for Mr. Garrison the law of suffering, and this seemed to him one of the plainest teachings of the New Testament. Those who held with him to this Bible doctrine were a mere handful, — not, as might have been expected, the whole Quaker denomination; not a large portion of the abolitionists. Of the majority the lives might be as blameless as his, but they hesitated to fol-

low out the doctrine to its consequences as indicated in the passages quoted above. They hesitated to become "no-government" men, as the non-resistants were called because they were content to suffer and neither to rule by force nor to punish their fellow-men. Down to 1840 a very small number of abolitionists who, in the sectarian division, adhered to the old organization, abstained from voting in view of the fact that the United States government rested upon an army and navy, on penal codes, jails, and gallowses.

Soon after this date, however, it became clear to Mr. Garrison that there was no hope of abolishing slavery under the Constitution and the Union as they had been formed in 1787. As early as March, 1840, he had announced the "irrepressible conflict" in these terms: "that Freedom and Slavery are natural and irreconcilable enemies; that it is morally impossible for them to endure together in the same nation; and that the existence of the one can only be secured by the destruction of the other." The South was in the habit of threatening to dissolve the Union whenever her "peculiar institution" was challenged, or her plans for its extension resisted. Mr. Gar-

rison proposed the same measure as the only way in which the North could protect its own liberties, and rid itself of responsibility for slavery. His cry henceforth became "No Union with Slaveholders!" and in 1844 he succeeded in bringing over the whole body of abolitionists, strictly so called, to this standard. Thenceforth none of them would either vote or hold office, or take, or permit any one to take for them, the oath of allegiance to a Constitution which recognized and supported slavery in the States. This was the last evidence of that disinterestedness which Mr. Garrison refused to forfeit by joining an anti-slavery political party. It was to the Slave Power a declaration of war to extremities, and it brought down on the abolitionists the charge of treason as well as of "incendiarism."

Mr. Garrison's history for the next twenty years is that of unflinching adhesion to this line of assault, which many Northern statesmen were ready to justify in case Texas should be annexed — as it was; and which the Mexican war, the Compromise of 1850 and new Fugitive Slave Law, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in the case of Kansas and Nebraska, all favored, by making clear to

every one the irresistible control of the Government by the slave-system entrenched in the Constitution. The civil war, precipitated by John Brown and the election of Abraham Lincoln, ended in the destruction of the Constitution and the Union as they had been, and in the preservation of a Constitution and a Union with which Mr. Garrison (as an abolitionist) had no quarrel. He promptly espoused the cause of the North on the outbreak of secession, never doubting the constitutional right of the Federal Government to make its authority respected over all the country against any armed rebellion whatsoever. He never despaired of the issue of the conflict being the downfall of slavery, and the Government gave him the crowning delight of his life when it invited him (with his friend George Thompson) to attend the raising of the national flag over Sumter on the fourth anniversary of the capture of that fort. He received at Charleston the most touching manifestations of gratitude from the colored people, who loaded him with flowers. Before he reached home Lincoln had been assassinated.

The "Liberator," in spite of its precarious support, had survived to the very end of sla-

very in America. In December, 1865, the last number of the thirty-fifth volume was published, and Mr. Garrison's occupation as an abolitionist was gone. He had already, in May, withdrawn from the American Anti-Slavery Society, of which he had been president for more than twenty years, though some of his colleagues thought this action premature, and endeavored to prolong the organization and the agitation. Mr. Garrison had no desire to continue a rôle which had lost its meaning. Slavery was dead beyond recovery, and there was no longer need of abolition societies. The freedmen, however, claimed his warmest sympathy. He was made an officer of local and national freedmen's aid societies, and, both as a lecturer and a writer for the press, he unceasingly entreated justice and charitable help for the blacks. He thus alleviated, as far as he could, the change in their condition, brought about, not as he would have had it, peacefully and with careful safeguards of education, but violently and with unprepared enfranchisement.

Other causes, too, received his attention and active assistance, as they had always done, — the woman's-rights agitation before all. From

defending the equal right of women in philanthropy, he early grew to acknowledge it in citizenship. He recognized no division of human interests between them and men, no natural power of one sex over the other, no incapacity in either for perfectibility. Hence he wished to see women admitted to all callings and all professions to which they applied for entrance, and to the full responsibilities and privileges of citizenship. His action in their behalf, at the World's Convention in 1840, is generally regarded as the prime landmark in the woman's-rights agitation, which in the next decade assumed a definite form, and continues to this day.

Mr. Garrison had crossed the ocean, on a third anti-slavery mission, in 1846. A fourth was made in 1867, as delegate of the American Freedmen's Commission to the Paris Anti-Slavery Conference. On the way to that capital he gladdened his numerous friends in England by revisiting them, no longer as the leader of an almost hopeless cause, but as a retired reformer, well satisfied to have ceased from his labors, of which he had lived to see the astonishing triumph. He appeared, too, not as the representative of a party, but, as the

Duke of Argyll said (at a public breakfast given in London to Mr. Garrison), in a national and even international capacity: "Freedom is now the policy of the Government and the assured policy of the country, and we can to-day accept and welcome Mr. Garrison, not merely as the liberator of the slaves, but as the representative, also, of the American Government." This idea was repeated and emphasized on the same occasion by Earl Russell, who improved the opportunity to make open amends to the United States for his attitude during the Rebellion, by which the "Alabama" was allowed to leave British ports to prey upon American commerce. "Let us hope," he said, "that the friendship of the United States and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland may endure unbroken, and that Mr. Garrison may carry with him, amongst other gratifications, this reflection, that our meeting here to-day has tended to the better union of two races who ought never to be separated." John Bright, who presided at the breakfast, referring to the late civil war, asked: —

May we not say, reviewing what has taken place, — and I have only glanced in the briefest possible way at the chief aspects of this great question, —

that probably history has no sadder, and yet, if we take a different view, I may say, also, probably no brighter page. To Mr. Garrison more than to any other man this is due: his is the creation of that opinion which has made slavery hateful, and which has made freedom possible in America. His name is venerated in his own country, — venerated where not long ago it was a name of obloquy and reproach. His name is venerated in this country and in Europe wheresoever Christianity softens the hearts and lessens the sorrows of men; and I venture to say that in time to come, near or remote I know not, his name will become the herald and the synonym of good to millions of men who will dwell on the now almost unknown continent of Africa.

Finally, John Stuart Mill pointed out two lessons from Mr. Garrison's career: —

The first lesson is: Aim at something great; aim at things which are difficult (and there is no great thing which is not difficult). Do not pare down your undertaking to what you can hope to see successful in the next few years, or in the years of your own life. . . .

The other lesson which it appears to me important to enforce, amongst the many that may be drawn from our friend's life, is this: If you aim at something noble, and succeed in it, you will generally find that you have succeeded not in that alone. A hundred

other good and noble things which you never dreamed of will have been accomplished by the way, and the more certainly, the sharper and more agonizing has been the struggle which preceded the victory. The heart and mind of a nation are never stirred from their foundation without manifold good fruits. In the case of the great American contest these fruits have been already great, and are daily becoming greater. The prejudices which beset every form of society — and of which there was a plentiful crop in America — are rapidly melting away. The chains of prescription have been broken; it is not only the slave who has been freed, — the mind of America has been emancipated. The whole intellect of the country has been set thinking about the fundamental questions of society and government; and the new problems which have to be solved, and the new difficulties which have to be encountered, are calling forth new activity of thought, and that great nation is saved, probably for a long time to come, from the most formidable danger of a completely settled state of society and opinion, — intellectual and moral stagnation. This, then, is an additional item of the debt which America and mankind owe to Mr. Garrison and his noble associates; and it is well calculated to deepen our sense of the truth which his whole career most strikingly illustrates, — that though our best-directed efforts may often seem wasted and lost, nothing coming of them that can be pointed to and distinctly

identified as a definite gain to humanity; though this may happen ninety-nine times in every hundred, the hundredth time the result may be so great and dazzling that we had never dared to hope for it, and should have regarded him who had predicted it to us as sanguine beyond the bounds of mental sanity. So has it been with Mr. Garrison.

These marks of approval from the most enlightened and eminent Englishmen — to which we must add the freedom of the city of Edinburgh bestowed on Mr. Garrison — should not outweigh the testimony to his character furnished by his immediate friendships at home. Not to go beyond the limits of Boston: to have drawn to himself such men and women as Samuel E. Sewall, Ellis Gray and Louisa Loring, Francis Jackson, Charles and Eliza Lee Follen, David Lee and Lydia Maria Child, Wendell and Ann Greene Phillips, Henry Grafton and Maria Weston Chapman, the Misses Weston, Samuel J. May, Samuel and Mary May, Samuel May, Jr., Edmund Quincy, Henry I. and William I. Bowditch, Samuel and Eliza Philbrick, Joseph and Thankful Southwick, Charles F. Hovey, Theodore Parker, — to have led all these to share his labors and the common odium of a

most unpopular cause; to have maintained the respect and affection of all, is itself a monument to his sterling worth. But for the constant pecuniary assistance of this group, neither the cause nor its leader could have been upheld in the fearful struggle. When Mr. Garrison terminated the publication of the "Liberator" he was rich only in the reward of a good conscience; and, having put aside his sole means of gaining a livelihood, his condition was, in his advanced years, a matter of serious concern, especially as his wife had been crippled by paralysis. At this juncture a national testimonial to Mr. Garrison was undertaken by a committee, of which ex-Governor Andrew was chairman, and the Rev. Samuel May, of Leicester, secretary. "The generation," said the address to the public, penned by Mr. Andrew, "which immediately preceded ours regarded him only as a wild enthusiast, a fanatic, or a public enemy. The present generation sees in him the bold and honest reformer, the man of original, self-poised, heroic will, inspired by a vision of universal justice, made actual in the practice of nations; who, daring to attack without reserve the worst and most powerful oppression of his

country and his time, has outlived the Giant Wrong he assailed, and has triumphed over the sophistries by which it was maintained." The committee, therefore, invited contributions from "all people who rejoice in the destruction of Slavery, in the reëstablishment of the Union on the basis of Universal Freedom, who appreciate his past service in the cause of Liberty, and the dignity and judgment with which he has accepted and interpreted the more recent events of public history." The fund thus raised was sufficient to keep Mr. Garrison in comfortable circumstances for the remainder of his life. He passed his days, not in indolence, but in lively contact with public affairs, writing incessantly for the press, and frequently speaking in public.

In 1876 Mrs. Garrison was taken from him, after a union marked by the deepest and truest affection, fidelity, sympathy, and coöperation in all benevolent works. In the following year he made a final visit to England, where his social experience was, if possible, more delightful than ever before. His infirmities, however, had already made serious inroads on his bodily strength, and on May 24, 1879, while temporarily at the home of his daughter, Mrs.

Henry Villard, in New York city, he breathed his last, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.[1]

So passed away a man whose life was a high exemplification of disinterested and untiring benevolence, both in public and in private; whose conduct as a citizen was beyond reproach, whose moral behavior under all circumstances was flawless; who abhorred injustice and loathed violence; who never wished evil to any man; who had no enemy that he could not and did not forgive; whose sympathies were all-embracing, and predisposed him to favor every movement for the amelioration of mankind; who was stern and inflexible in the application of principle, but habitually

[1] The funeral services were held in the afternoon of May 28, at the church of the First Religious Society, near his home in Roxbury. A great throng was in attendance. The pall-bearers were Wendell Phillips, Samuel May, Samuel E. Sewall, Robert F. Wallcut, Theodore D. Weld, Oliver Johnson, Lewis Hayden, and Charles L. Mitchell. The religious exercises were conducted by the Rev. Samuel May, and feeling remarks were made by this stanch friend of Mr. Garrison, and by Mrs. Lucy Stone, the Rev. Samuel Johnson, Theodore D. Weld, and Wendell Phillips. A poem, written for the occasion by John G. Whittier, was also read. At sunset the body was interred beside that of Mrs. Garrison, on Smilax Path, in the cemetery at Forest Hills.

modest, genial, kindly to the last degree in his personal intercourse with others; of extreme sociability, of transparent ingenuousness, devoid of vanity or the smallest trace of self-seeking; as amenable to counsel as he was prompt in initiative; inexhaustible in hopefulness and patience, undiscourageable, possessed (as John Bright said) of "an unfaltering faith that that which is right will in the end succeed." The reputation which for thirty years he bore among his countrymen at large was so opposed to this reality that posterity will with difficulty explain the paradox. Theological odium was responsible for a large part of it, even at a time when Mr. Garrison's views were not different from those which are honored or forgiven in the great leaders of the Protestant Reformation. His pious mother, to whom he owed his deeply religious nature and the springs of that moral earnestness which determined his philanthropic career, had brought him up a rigid Baptist, yet could not make him a sectarian. In the Bible which she placed in his hands he found an all-sufficient weapon against every form of iniquity. It was an armory upon which he drew as freely as if he had been a clergyman, and with a familiarity

more than professional. His most tremendous invectives against war, slavery, intemperance, were apt to be couched in Scriptural phraseology. And still he passed for an "infidel."

The truth is that, as he went on, his views of the supernatural origin and sanction of the Bible did undergo a change. In this, as in other matters, his experience was like that of thousands of his coadjutors: his efforts to liberate the slave ended in enlarging his own spirit. This change with him, as far so the inspiration of the Bible was concerned, was extremely slow, and did not begin until long after his enemies had adjudged him a hopeless and degraded infidel. Instead of its causing him to reject the Bible as his daily companion and firmest ally, he used it all the more, with fresh insight into its meaning, and fresh delight in its spiritual power.

Whatever time may have done at this date for his religious rehabilitation, his patriotism is now admitted on all hands. That which prevailed when he came upon the scene was class patriotism, not democratic patriotism. To prate of country, and to be insensible to the wrongs of the humblest of one's countrymen, was not his patriotism, which rather

began with the downtrodden, deeming (in Francis Jackson's fine language) "that Whigism hypocritical, and that Democracy contemptibly spurious, which profess to find danger to liberty in a Bank or a Sub-Treasury, while their fellow-man is perishing in the chains that one blow would strike from his limbs." He was the first to "make a common rally" in the slave's behalf under the banner of immediate and unconditional emancipation. He was the first to address on terms of equal brotherhood the class next above the slaves in public contempt and legal disability — the free blacks. He entreated the South to save itself from the daily demoralization of its organized cruelty, from the peril of bloody outbreaks as time went on; he besought the North to refuse all partnership in the monstrous crime against humanity. "I am," he said, "earnest for the repeal of the Union between the North and the South, whether I contemplate the subject on the ground of patriotism or in the light of Christianity." He pleaded for a real, not a paper, Union; for homogeneous, not discordant, institutions; for a Constitution free from the shocking and baleful inconsistency of a government, osten-

sibly established for the maintenance of equality before the law, recognizing and sustaining, with army and navy, the chattel bondage of one-sixth part of the population. He held the end more sacred than the means, and could not worship an instrument or a confederacy which flourished in defiance of the Declaration of Independence. From that Declaration he virtually derived his motto, "My Country is the World, My Countrymen are all Mankind," — a sentiment not inconsistent with the narrower patriotism which endears to every citizen the country of his birth. A thousand times was Mr. Garrison's attachment intensified when the Declaration and the Constitution — the real and the paper Union — were brought into harmony by the abolition of slavery; and in his own eyes he never did a more patriotic act than when he denounced that Congressional legislation against the Chinese which is now upon the statute-book. This was his last public writing.

Mr. Garrison's own judgment of himself may fitly close this sketch:—

"The truth is, he who commences any reform which at last becomes one of transcendent importance and is crowned with victory,

is always ill judged and unfairly estimated. At the outset he is looked upon with contempt, and treated in the most opprobrious manner, as a wild fanatic or a dangerous disorganizer. In due time the cause grows and advances to its sure triumph; and in proportion as it nears the goal, the popular estimate of his character changes, till finally excessive panegyric is substituted for outrageous abuse. The praise, on the one hand, and the defamation, on the other, are equally unmerited. In the clear light of Reason, it will be seen that he simply stood up to discharge a duty which he owed to his God, to his fellow-men, to the land of his nativity."

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

SELECT PORTRAITS AND STATUARY OF GARRISON

PAINTINGS

1825. Oil painting from life, executed in Newburyport, Mass., by WILLIAM SWAIN.

.·. Life size. Now in possession of Francis J. Garrison, Lexington, Mass. Engraved on wood for the family Life of Garrison (vol. i, p. 56). The only youthful portrait (æt. 20), and the only one showing a full head of hair. Its essential truthfulness as a likeness was established by striking resemblance in a son and grandson.

1833. Oil painting from life, executed at New Haven, Conn., by NATHANIEL JOCELYN.

.·. Life size. Begun April 10. Regarded by Garrison at the time as "a very tolerable likeness." That it was worked over is shown in details in comparison with the steel engraving made from it by the artist's brother, Simeon S. Jocelyn (copyrighted April 6, 1834, in the District of Connecticut). The painting was much more highly approved than the engraving, the plate of which is now in possession of Francis J. Garrison. The painting was bought by the late Robert Purvis of Philadelphia, and subsequently sold to the late Edward M. Davis of the

same city, whose heirs now own it. Garrison holds the "Liberator" in his hand.

1835. Oil painting from life, executed apparently in Boston, by M. C. TORREY.

.·. Cabinet portrait. Sent from Boston (before December 30) to Philadelphia to be engraved in mezzotint by John Sartain. The painting passed, through Mrs. William Oakes of Ipswich, Mass., her daughter, Mrs. Stephen Caldwell of Philadelphia, and Mrs. Thomas Mott, to the descendants of Lucretia Mott, who now own it. A replica was painted for George Thompson, who took it to England. The engraving was published in June, 1836, and the plate is supposed to have been burnt in the fire that consumed Pennsylvania Hall (1838). For the family Life of Garrison, the Torrey painting was reengraved on wood, with the added accuracy of having been photographed upon the block (see vol. i, p. 1). This must be thought a good likeness, and was always recognized as such, in the print, by Garrison's infants. It had the favorable opinion also of Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman.

1840. Oil painting of the World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840, by ROBERT BENJAMIN HAYDON.

.·. The sketch in crayon for Garrison's portrait, made by Haydon at the instance of the Duchess of Sutherland, is now in the possession of Fanny Garrison (Mrs. Henry) Villard. The canvas is in the National Gallery, London.

1846. Oil painting from life, executed by WILLIAM PAGE.

.·. Life size. Undertaken by the artist on his own account, and sent to London in care of George Thompson to be exhibited (1846–7). Bought by the late Francis George Shaw, and given by his widow to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1887. It has never been esteemed as a likeness by Garrison's family. Its defects are obvious in comparison with the engraving from the Dublin daguerreotype of 1846, which forms the frontispiece to volume iii of the family Life.

1867. Oil painting from life, executed in Boston by E. T. Billings.

.·. Life size. Ordered for the Mechanics' Hall, Worcester, Mass., where it now hangs. Not very satisfactory.

1871. Oil painting from life, by the same.

.·. Life size. Now in the possession of Francis J. Garrison. A truly domestic portrait.

ENGRAVINGS

1836. Mezzotint engraving, after M. C. Torrey's cabinet portrait, executed in Philadelphia by John Sartain.

1854. Lithographic portrait, executed in Boston by Louis Grozelier.

.·. Based on a daguerreotype by Chase, but also having the advantage of sittings. Published by William C. Nell in Boston, May 5. Autograph signature, and motto: "I am in earnest," etc. Though

a little hard in drawing, this likeness stands at the head of all the prints of Garrison as truly bodying forth the spirit of the resolute reformer, and it was universally approved by his co-workers and by his family.

1889. Wood engraving, executed in East Orange, N. J., by GUSTAV KRUELL.

.·. Based on the latter-day photograph by Rockwood, of which a photogravure copy serves as frontispiece to volume iv of the family Life of Garrison. As a work of art, of the highest order; as a likeness, variously esteemed.

STATUARY

1841. Plaster bust, executed by S. L. V. CLEVENGER.

.·. An Ohio artist, who died two years later. Life size. Strongly modeled, yet not satisfactory as a likeness. It was exhibited at the Anti-Slavery Bazaar held in Amory Hall, Boston, in the winter of 1841–2. George Thompson had a copy of it in England in 1845. The original is in possession of Francis J. Garrison.

1857. Plaster bust, executed in Boston by JOHN ADAMS JACKSON.

.·. A Maine sculptor, who died in Florence in August, 1879, aged 57. Life size. Unsuccessful, especially in comparison with the same artist's bust of Wendell Phillips. Garrison's bust became the property of the Parker Fraternity Association of Boston.

1869. Life mask, made by JOHN ROGERS.

.·. This precious and fine memorial, wonderfully vital in its lines and nervous muscularity, was quite lost sight of till brought to the notice of Olin L. Warner when he was modeling the Boston statue of Garrison. Two bronze copies made for Francis J. Garrison and Wendell P. Garrison are in their respective possession. The mask was used by Rogers as a study for the following:

1869. Statuette group, "The Fugitive's Story," executed by JOHN ROGERS.

.·. Garrison is seated at his editorial desk, around which are standing John G. Whittier, Henry Ward Beecher, and a slave mother and her infant in arms — a purely imaginary grouping, and beyond the range of probability. In spite of the aid afforded by the mask, Garrison's head is least successful, though carefully and truthfully modeled. His face is too thin, and his body is stiffly posed, owing to the crowding of the design.

1878. Bust, executed in Boston by ANNE WHITNEY.

.·. Life size, from many sittings, and an admirable presentation of Mr. Garrison in advanced age. A marble copy, now in his possession, was made for Francis J. Garrison, and, later, one for Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard.

1884. Plaster statuette, executed in Boston by ANNE WHITNEY.

.·. This represents Garrison seated in a characteristic attitude, which he was wont to take when in animated social conversation or discussion. It was

made for his children, who felt that the superiority of Miss Whitney's model for the Boston statue, as well as her success with the portrait bust, entitled her to the commission awarded to Mr. Warner. Copies of it are in their possession.

1886. Bronze statue, executed in New York by OLIN L. WARNER.

∴ Heroic size, seated. Procured by private subscription. Erected in Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on May 13, 1886. Neither as a work of art nor as a likeness does this statue justify the sculptor's deservedly high reputation. The pose is uncharacteristic. The expression is not wanting in resoluteness, but lacks the benevolence and benignity which so distinguished the face of Garrison, and which are happily portrayed in Miss Whitney's bust.[1]

[1] The bronze statue, by an inexperienced local sculptor, erected in Newburyport, July 4, 1893, is unqualifiedly bad.

A Sketch of the Character and Defence of the Principles of William Lloyd Garrison. Being an Address, delivered before the Managers of the "Maine Anti-Slavery Society," in Portland, Me., on the evening of the 1st of November, 1833, by One of the Board. Published by request. New York: Printed by Henry R. Piercy, 7 Theatre Alley. 1833.

.·. Pamphlet, pp. 15. Green paper covers, with imprint: *Memoir of William Lloyd Garrison.* The author was James Frederic Otis, one of the founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society and signers of the Declaration of Sentiments at Philadelphia in the month following the Address. (He was afterwards a backslider from the abolition faith, but survived emancipation, dying February 2, 1867.)

The Martyr Age of the United States. By Harriet Martineau.

.·. In the *London and Westminster Review* for December, 1838. Reprinted in pamphlet form. New York: S. W. Benedict. 1839.

[*William Lloyd Garrison.*] By Mary Howitt.

.·. In the "People's Journal" for September 12, 19, 26, and October 3, 1846; with a portrait on wood drawn by H. Anelay, and probably engraved by W. J. Linton. The Memoir was reprinted in the "Pennsylvania Freeman" for March 25, 1847.

Tributes to William Lloyd Garrison at the Funeral Services, May 28, 1879. Boston: Houghton, Osgood & Co. 1879.

.·. The frontispiece a profile view (heliotype) of the portrait bust by Anne Whitney.

William Lloyd Garrison and his Times, etc. By Oliver Johnson. With an introduction by John G. Whittier. Boston: B. B. Russell & Co. 1880. [1881. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.]

.·. The portrait, engraved on steel by F. T. Stuart, after a photograph (1876) by George K. Warren, is an admirable and genial likeness.

William Lloyd Garrison: The Story of his Life told by his Children. Volumes I, II, 1885. Volumes III, IV, 1889. New York: The Century Co. [1894. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.]

.·. The documentary Life by way of eminency. It contains six portraits of Garrison, and many more of his principal coadjutors on both sides of the Atlantic; maps, facsimiles of handwriting, etc. It is the quarry from which all subsequent lives have necessarily been constructed.

A Memorial of William Lloyd Garrison from the City of Boston. Boston: Printed by order of the City Council. 1886.

.·. The city document has for frontispiece a heliotype reduction of L. Grozelier's lithographic portrait of Garrison, and contains also a heliotype print of the statue of Garrison by Olin M. Warner set up in Commonwealth Avenue on May 13, 1886.

The biographical sketch, prepared at the request of the late William H. Whitmore, then a member of the city government, is reproduced in the present volume.

An American Hero: The Story of Wm. Lloyd Garrison. Written for Young People. By Frances E. Cooke. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1888.

The Story of a Noble Life: William Lloyd Garrison. By William E. A. Axon. ("Onward Series.") London: S. W. Partridge & Co. 1890.

William Lloyd Garrison. Von Prof. Dr. Georg Gizycki. (Autorisirter Auszug.) Berlin: A. Asher & Co. 1890.

William Lloyd Garrison, the Abolitionist. By Archibald H. Grimké, M. A. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1891.

The Moral Crusader, William Lloyd Garrison: A Biographical Essay founded on *The Story of Garrison's Life told by his Children.* By Goldwin Smith, D. C. L. Toronto: Williamson & Co. 1892. Also, New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

∴ The difference between these editions is in the typography and the frontispiece portrait.

A Short Biography of William Lloyd Garrison. By V. Tchertkoff and F. Holah. With an introductory Appreciation of his Life and Work by Leo Tolstoy. London: The Free Age Press. 1904.

An Address delivered before the Free People of Color, in Philadelphia, New York, and other places during the month of June, 1831. By William Lloyd Garrison. Boston: Stephen Foster. 1831.

Thoughts on African Colonization: or, An Impartial Exhibition of the Doctrines, Principles, and Purposes of the American Colonization Society. Together with the Resolutions, Addresses, and Remonstrances of the Free People of Color. "Out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee." "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good." By Wm. Lloyd Garrison. Boston: Garrison & Knapp. 1832.

An Address on the Progress of the Abolition Cause, delivered before the African Abolition Freehold Society of Boston, July 16, 1832. By Wm. Lloyd Garrison. Boston: Garrison & Knapp. 1832.

Address delivered in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia before the Free People of Color in April, 1833. By William Lloyd Garrison. New York: Printed for the Free People of Color. 1833.

A Brief Sketch of the Trial of William Lloyd Garrison, for an alleged Libel on Francis Todd, of Newburyport, Mass. Boston: Garrison & Knapp. 1834.

A Selection of Anti-Slavery Hymns, for the use of the Friends of Emancipation. Boston: Garrison & Knapp. 1834.

∴ The selection made and a preface (dated Boston, March 1) furnished by Garrison.

An Address in Marlboro Chapel, Boston, July 4, 1838. By William Lloyd Garrison. Boston: Isaac Knapp. 1838.

An Address delivered at the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, August 1, 1838, by request of the People of Color of that city, in commemoration of the complete emancipation of 600,000 slaves on that day in the British West Indies. By William Lloyd Garrison. Boston: Isaac Knapp. 1838.

A Letter on the Political Obligations of Abolitionists. By James G. Birney: With a Reply by William Lloyd Garrison. Boston: Dow & Jackson. 1839.

An Address delivered before the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society at South Scituate, Mass., July 4, 1839. By Wm. Lloyd Garrison. Boston: Dow & Jackson. 1839.

Sonnets and Other Poems. By William Lloyd Garrison. Boston: Oliver Johnson. 1843.

Anti-Slavery Melodies: for the friends of Freedom. Prepared for the Hingham Anti-Slavery Society. Hingham [Mass.]: Elijah B. Gill. [1843.]

∴ Set to music. The hymns 3, 18, 27, and lyrics on pages 64, 70, are Garrison's — the first hymn curiously razeed to fit the metre.

Address on the Subject of American Slavery delivered

in the National Hall, Holborn, September 2, 1846. By William Lloyd Garrison. London: Richard Kinder. 1846.

Speeches of William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass at the great Anti-Slavery Meeting held at Paisley, Scotland, 23d September 1846. [Glasgow?] Alex. Gardner. 1846.

Selections from the Writings and Speeches of William Lloyd Garrison. Boston: Robert F. Wallcut. 1852.

Letter to Louis Kossuth, concerning Freedom and Slavery in the United States. [By William Lloyd Garrison.] Boston: R. F. Wallcut. 1852.

Principles and Mode of Action of the American Anti-Slavery Society: A Speech by William Lloyd Garrison. London: William Tweedie. [1853.]

No Compromise with Slavery: An Address delivered in New York, February 14, 1854. By William Lloyd Garrison. New York. 1854.

West India Emancipation: A Speech delivered at Abington, Mass., on the first day of August, 1854. By William Lloyd Garrison. Boston. 1854.

No Fetters in the Bay State: Speech before the Committee on Federal Relations [of the Massachusetts Legislature], Thursday, February 24, 1859. By William Lloyd Garrison. Boston. 1859.

The "Infidelity" of Abolitionism. By Wm. Lloyd Garrison. New York. 1860.

"*The New Reign of Terror.*" New York: American Anti-Slavery Society. 1860.

∴ Compiled by Garrison.

The Abolitionists, and their Relations to the War: A Lecture by William Lloyd Garrison at the Cooper Institute, New York, January 14, 1862. New York: E. D. Barker. 1862.

Proceedings at the Public Breakfast held in honor of William Lloyd Garrison, Esq., of Boston, Massachusetts, in St. James's Hall, London, on Saturday, June 29th, 1867. London: William Tweedie. 1868.

Joseph Mazzini: His Life, Writings, and Political Principles. With an Introduction by William Lloyd Garrison. New York: Hurd & Houghton. 1872.

Helen Eliza Garrison: A Memorial. [By William Lloyd Garrison.] Cambridge [Mass.]: Printed at the Riverside Press. 1876.

CHRONOLOGY OF GARRISON

1805, December 10. **Born in Newburyport, Mass.,** on School Street, immediately behind the First Presbyterian Church. The house has been preserved, with internal alterations. It is now a double house.

1814. Apprenticed to Gamaliel W. Oliver, shoemaker, in Lynn, Mass.

1815, October. Removes, by sea, with his mother, to Baltimore, Md.

1816. Returns, about midyear, to Newburyport, living on the corner of Water and Summer Streets.

1818 (probably). Apprenticed to Moses Short, cabinet-maker, Haverhill, Mass. Runs away, is recovered, and finally discharged, returning to Newburyport.

October 13. **Apprenticed to Ephraim W. Allen, editor and proprietor of the Newburyport Herald,** with whom he makes his home.

1822, May. Begins to write, anonymously, for the "Herald."

1823, September 3. Death of his mother, Fanny Lloyd.

1825, December 10. End of his apprenticeship.

1826, March 22–September 21. **Editor and publisher of the Free Press, Newburyport.**

June. Seeks out John G. Whittier, a budding poet.

December. To Boston in search of employment, boarding in Scott Court.

1827. Compositor in Boston, boarding latterly at 30 Federal Street with the Rev. William Collier.

1828, January 4–July 4. **Editor in Boston of the National Philanthropist.**

March 17. **First meeting, in Boston, with Benjamin Lundy.**

October 3. **Begins editing the Journal of the Times at Bennington, Vt.,** boarding with Deacon Erwin Safford on the north side of the Troy Road.

December 6. **Visit from Lundy to solicit his assistance in editing the Genius of Universal Emancipation in Baltimore.**

1829, March 27. Last issue, under his editorship, of the "Journal of the Times."

April. Returns to Boston, boarding again at 30 Federal Street, with J. G. Whittier as his room-mate.

July 4. **Delivers his first public address against slavery, at Park Street Church, Boston.**

August. Sails for Baltimore, to join Lundy, boarding with the Misses Harris at 135 Market Street.

1829, September 2. **First issue of the Genius with his collaboration. First announcement "that the slaves are entitled to immediate and complete emancipation."**

1830, March 1. **Garrison's trial for libel of Francis Todd of Newburyport.**

April 17. **Committed to Baltimore jail in default of payment of fine.**

June 5. Released by the liberality of Arthur Tappan. Returns to Boston and 30 Federal Street.

August. **Publishes "Proposals for publishing a Weekly Periodical in Washington City, to be entitled the Public Liberator and Journal of the Times."**

October 15, 16, 18. **Delivers three anti-slavery addresses in Julien Hall, corner of Milk and Congress Streets, Boston,** and wins the support of Samuel J. May and Samuel E. Sewall.

1831, January 1. **First issue of the Liberator, from Merchants' Hall, northeast corner of Congress and Water Streets, by Garrison in partnership with Isaac Knapp. "Our Country is the World, Our Countrymen are Mankind."**

November 13. **First meeting to found the New England Anti-Slavery Society.**

— Interview with Aaron Burr in Boston, at Burr's request.

1832, January 6. **The New England Anti-Slavery Society formed.**

1832, June 2. **Publication of the Thoughts on African Colonization.**

1833, January. Consulted by Miss Prudence Crandall as to a colored girls' school in Canterbury, Conn.

April 5. First meeting with Helen Eliza Benson, in Providence, R. I.

May 2. **Sails for England on behalf of a Manual Labor School for colored youth,** leaving Oliver Johnson in charge of the "Liberator."

May 22. Arrives at Liverpool.

June. Meets Zachary Macaulay and Thomas Fowell Buxton in London.

June 19. With George Thompson, visits William Wilberforce at Bath.

July 13. Exeter Hall meeting, addressed by Garrison and Daniel O'Connell.

July 13. Interview with Thomas Clarkson at Ipswich.

August 5. Attends Wilberforce's funeral in Westminster Abbey.

August 18. Sails from London.

September 29. Lands in New York.

October 2. Witnesses mobbing of New York City Anti-Slavery Society, partly aimed at him.

October 7. Threatened with mob in Boston.

October 27. Indicted for libel in Brooklyn, Conn., in connection with the persecution of Prudence Crandall.

1833, December 4. **Drafts the Declaration of Sentiments at the founding in Philadelphia of the American Anti-Slavery Society.**

1834, September 4. **Marriage with Helen Eliza Benson.**

September 30. George Thompson of England lands in New York.

1835, July 29. Garrison burned in effigy at Charleston, S. C.

September 10. Gallows erected before his house at 23 Brighton Street, Boston.

October 21. **Meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society mobbed. Garrison seized by mob, rescued and committed to Leverett Street jail.**

October 23. Seeks refuge in Brooklyn, Conn.

November 4. Returns to Boston for a fortnight.

November 18. Leaves Boston for Brooklyn. Francis Jackson opens his house to the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society for their postponed meeting.

December 30. Garrison meets Harriet Martineau in Boston.

December 31. Dissolves partnership with Knapp.

1836, February 13. Birth of George Thompson Garrison at Brooklyn, Conn.

September. Garrison boards with Miss Parker at 5 Hayward Place, Boston.

1837, June. Visits John Quincy Adams.

August 2. Attacked by the Clerical Appeal.

November. Wins invaluable supporters in Elizabeth Pease of England, Wendell Phillips, and Edmund Quincy.

1838, January 21. Birth of William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., in Boston.

May 16. **Garrison at the mobbing and destruction of Pennsylvania Hall, Philadelphia.**

September 18. **Drafts the Constitution and Declaration of Sentiments for the Non-Resistance Society, Boston.**

September. Resides at 2 Nassau Court (afterwards Seaver Place), Boston.

1839, October. Removes his home to Cambridgeport, Mass., northwest corner of Elm Street and Broadway.

1840, May. **Schism in the anti-slavery ranks over woman's rights and political action.**

May 22. **Garrison sails from New York to attend the World's Anti-Slavery Convention in London.**

June 4. Birth of Wendell Phillips Garrison in Cambridgeport.

June 16. Garrison arrives in Liverpool.

June 18. **Refuses to enter World's Anti-Slavery Convention because his women co-delegates are excluded.**

August 4. Sails from Liverpool.

1840, August 17. Lands at Boston.

September 24. Attends the Chardon Street Convention, Boston.

1841. After the midyear, removes to northwest corner of Magazine and William Streets, Cambridgeport.

August. White Mountain tour with N. P. Rogers.

1842, February. First intimation of disunion policy.

September 9. Charles Follen Garrison born in Cambridgeport.

October 14. Death of Garrison's brother James.

1843, January 27. **Garrison declares the pro-slavery compact of the Constitution "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell."**

In the autumn, makes his home at 13 Pine Street, Boston.

1844, May 7–9. **The American Anti-Slavery Society adopts Garrison's policy of "No Union with Slaveholders."**

December 16. Helen Frances Garrison born in Boston.

1845, January 29. Garrison a delegate to the Anti-Texas Convention in Faneuil Hall, Boston.

1846, July 16. **Sails for England on invitation of the Glasgow Emancipation Society.**

August. Meets Joseph Mazzini and Ferdinand Freiligrath in London.

August 4. Attends the World's Temperance Convention in London.

August 10. Helps form in London the Anti-Slavery League.

August 20. Last visit to Thomas Clarkson.

November 4. Sails from Liverpool.

November 17. Lands in Boston.

December 11. Birth of Elizabeth Pease Garrison in Boston.

1847, August, September. Garrison's first Western tour.

September, October. Prostrated with fever in Cleveland, O.

1848, January 21. **Calls Anti-Sabbath Convention in Boston.**

March 23, 24. Convention meets.

April 20. Death of Elizabeth Pease Garrison.

October 29. Birth of Francis Jackson Garrison in Boston.

1849, March. Garrison removes from Pine Street to 65 Suffolk Street (afterwards Shawmut Avenue.)

April 8. Death of Charles Follen Garrison.

July 27. Garrison presents address to Father Mathew in Boston.

1850, May 7. **At the mobbing of the American Anti-Slavery Society's anniversary meeting by Isaiah Rynders and his gang, in the Broadway Tabernacle, New York.**

1850, October 23. **Attends Woman's Rights Convention in Worcester, Mass.**

October 29. George Thompson lands in Boston.

November 15. Garrison at Thompson reception and mobbing in Faneuil Hall.

1852, February. Letter to Louis Kossuth.

— Removes to Concord Street, Boston.

1853, April. Removes to 14 Dix Place, Boston.

June. **Mobbed at Bible Convention, Hartford, Conn.**

October 6. Second Western tour. Attends National Woman's Rights Convention at Cleveland, O.

December. Visits Mrs. Stowe at Andover, Mass.

1854, July 4. **Burns the pro-slavery Constitution in public at Framingham, Mass.**

Crosby

1857, January. Meets John Brown at Theodore Parker's house.

January 15. **At Worcester Disunion Convention.**

July. **Joins in call for Cleveland Disunion Convention.**

1863, January 1. Celebrates Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

December 3, 4. At celebration in Philadelphia of the 30th anniversary of the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

1864, February 6. George Thompson lands in Boston on his third visit to the United States.

June 9. Garrison's interview with President Lincoln at the White House.

August. Removes to 125 Highland Street, Roxbury, Mass.

1865, February 4. **Celebrates the Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery.**

April 14. **With George Thompson at the raising of the flag over Fort Sumter.** (President Lincoln assassinated.)

April 15. Visits Calhoun's grave in Charleston. Receives great ovation from the freedmen. Visits camp of his son's colored regiment. (Lincoln dies.)

May 10. **Resigns the Presidency of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York.**

December 29. **Issues the last number of the Liberator.**

1866, January 25. **Withdraws from the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.**

1867, May 8. **Sails for England with George Thompson.**

June. Meets Nicholas Tourgueneff, Edward Laboulaye, and Augustin Cochin in Paris.

June 6. Witnesses Napoleon's military review before Alexander of Russia, William of Prussia, and Bismarck, in the Bois de Boulogne.

June 19. Meets John Bright in London.

1867, June 29. **London breakfast in Garrison's honor.** Speeches by John Bright, the Duke of Argyll, Earl Russell, John Stuart Mill, and George Thompson.

July 18. **Presented with the freedom of the city of Edinburgh.**

August 3. Last meeting with Mazzini.

August 26, 27. **As delegate from the American Freedman's Union, attends the International Anti-Slavery Conference in Paris.**

September. Swiss tour with Richard D. Webb.

October 26. Sails from Liverpool for America.

November 6. Lands in Boston.

1868, March 10. **Presented with a national testimonial of $31,000.**

1875, December 10. Celebrates his 70th birthday by setting type in the Newburyport "Herald" office.

1876, January 25. Death of Mrs. Garrison.

1877, May 23. **Sails for England for his fifth and final visit.**

June 3. Lands in Liverpool.

June 26. Breakfasted by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in London.

July 15. Last meeting with George Thompson.

August 10. Last meeting with Elizabeth Pease Nichol.

August 25. Sails from Liverpool.

September 4. Lands in New York.

1878, October 13. Celebrates the 60th anniversary of his apprenticeship by setting type in the Newburyport "Herald" office.

October 14. Dinner in his honor given by the New England Franklin Club (of Master-printers), Boston.

1879, February. Opposes the Chinese Exclusion policy.

May 24. **Dies in New York** at his daughter's apartments in the Westmoreland, southeast corner of 17th Street and Fourth Avenue.

May 28. Interment at Forest Hills Cemetery, Boston.

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